

T H E
W O R K S
 Of the Right Reverend
GEORGE BULL, D.D.
 Late Bishop of St. DAVIDS.
 Concerning the HOLY TRINITY.

CONSISTING OF

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| <p>I. The Defence of the <i>Nicene Creed</i>.
 II. The Judgment of the Catholic Church of the three first Centuries, concerning the Necessity of believing that <i>Our Lord Jesus Christ is true God</i>, asserted against <i>M. Simon Episcopus</i>, and others.</p> | <p>III. The Primitive and Apostolical Tradition concerning the received Doctrine in the Catholic Church, of our Saviour <i>Jesus Christ's Divinity</i>, asserted, and plainly proved, against <i>Daniel Zuicker a Prussian</i>, and his late Disciples in England.</p> |
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Translated into **ENGLISH**:

W I T H

The *Notes and Observations* of Dr. **GRABE**. And some
Reflections upon the late Controversists in this Doctrine.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By **FR. HOLLAND, M. A.** Rector of *Sutton Wilts*,
 and Chaplain to the Rt Hon. *Thomas Lord Viscount WEYMOUTH*.

Auctoribus quidem, — nti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis & debet, & solet valere plurimum; & primum quidem omni Antiquitate, qua quo propius aberat ab ortu & divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse, qua erant vera, cernebat. Tusc. Quest. Lib. 1. Ed. Aurel. Allebrog. Tom. 2. p. 435.

You may perceive — that Bishop Bull's Book is like to stand, till something much more, considerable appears against it. Several Attempts of this kind have been made before; but to as little purpose: And if there be ever so many more, by ever so good hands, I'll venture to say, they will succeed no better. The Book will stand as long as clear Sense, sound Reasoning, and true Learning have any Friends left. The main Substance of it is not to be confuted, any more than you can extinguish Truth, or put out the Light of the Sun. The Fathers have been try'd, and are found faithful: What they defended while living, The Divinity of our Blessed Lord against the Insults of Jews, Pagans and Heretics, they still maintain in their Writings: And their Works will be held in great Esteem and Veneration, while every weak Attempt to blast their Credit, will meet with what it justly deserves; I was going to say what, but it may sound severe. WATERLAND's Defence of the Queries. p. 421. Ed. 1.

L O N D O N:

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THOMAS,
Lord Viscount WEYMOUTH.

My LORD,



DEDICATIONS are generally written in the highest Strain of Complaisance. They find or make those worthy Persons, to whom they are address'd, Masters in every way. The Patron seldom wants any Thing that is great or good, except the Reputation

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putation of being known to have it; and happily it falls out for him that the Author in whose Favour he is, has secur'd that Point. Though I hope and wish as glorious Things of Your Lordship as possible, and am not alone in thinking You give us the Promises of all, Your Friends can desire, or Your Enemies (if You should have any) fear in You: I've taken upon me, with great Submission, rather to be Your Adviser than Your Panegyrist. My Intention in this Address might justly be called a strange Presumption, but that I recommend Revealed Religion; and extreme Vanity, if what I offer to Your Lordship was any Thing of my own, and not the
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the Work of a very Learned and Excellent Person ; a Person who chose to follow good Principles through a variety of Difficulty and Affliction ; and in better Times, when distinguish'd Merit might have expected a Reward, was honourably taken Notice of by the whole Clergy of *France*, before either provided for in Circumstances, or dignify'd in Character by his own Country. The Satisfaction Your Lordship will reap from an early Regard to the Doctrines in these Pieces contained, is inexpressible. How meanly soever they may be spoken of by some, there is no solid Virtue, no comfortable Hope without them. The Precepts of our great Lord leave

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us not to the Uncertainty of Humane Reasoning, or the Deductions of fallible Men ; and the Example of God manifest in the Flesh has either given Life and Spirit to a virtuous Practice, or we must despair of those Advantages from any other Quarter. If a Creature can't be profitable to God, where is Merit ? If no Merit, no Reward but by Grace ; if no Reward but by Grace, no Discovery of it but by Revelation. The Schemes of Convenience, and the fine-spun Thread of the Moralists may shew You something of Virtue ; Point of Honour may contribute to bind it upon You ; but the only firm Obligation is still wanting, the Divine Authority of him who
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has prescrib'd it. The Hopes of Reward may shine in upon You at certain lucid Intervals, and leave You again when You most want them ; but Revelation, my LORD, the despis'd Doctrines of a crucify'd Jesus, God and Man, can only give You any rational Assurance.

THINGS of this abstruse Nature may be thought utterly improper for Your Lordship now ; but if they are of so great Use, if so much depends upon them, the Mind can't contract too early an Acquaintance with them, and till a maturer Age shall have put Your Lordship in Possession of the Learned Languages and Theological Terms, this plain Version may perhaps contribute

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something to Your Instruction.
That You may be a Defence to
Religion, an Ornament to Your
great Birth and Titles, and by
an Exemplary Virtue and Holy
Zeal derive a Blessing upon those
ample Fortunes, which the Al-
mighty has bestow'd upon You,
is and shall be the fervent Prayer
of,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

most Obedient

Humble Servant

and Chaplain,

FR. HOLLAND.



T H E

Translator's Preface.



THE Writings of that excellent Prelate Bishop Bull, in Defence of our Lord's Divinity, have been so esteemed by the Learned at Home and Abroad, that it is strange they have not been made popular by a Translation long ago. They have extorted the Commendation of those, who approve not what they maintain; are, at the lowest, allowed to be wrote as well as the Cause would bear, and there only to fail where nothing can succeed. The Authority of two very worthy Persons may be thought to lie against this Design, I mean Mr. Nelson and Dr. Waterland, who join in this Character of the Right Reverend Author: He would not write to the Vulgar and Unlearned, (which is beginning at the wrong end, and doing nothing), but to the Learned and Judicious; knowing it to be the surest and the shortest Way, and that, if the Point be gained with them, the rest come in of course; if not, all is to no purpose. The Discretion of the great Man was highly commendable, and the Reflection upon it very just; but the Circumstances of our Times are such, as will not suffer the same Method to be accounted either Religious or Prudent. Norwith-

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Notwithstanding this Observation upon the Bishop's Conduct, both the learned Men concerned in it, have left him by himself, and found themselves under a Necessity of defending the same Principles, he did, in their Mother-Tongue. The Successors of Sandius, Episcopius and Zuicker, Men as well skill'd in Languages, as they, have discovered a nearer way to their end than mature Consideration, and a separate Address to the proper Judges: They have filled all places with their vain Boasts of the Antients, and chose rather to make Proselytes upon solemn ungrounded Assertions among the People, than appeal directly to the Judicious. It is now no longer our Business generously to engage a foreign Adversary of our Lord's: We have now no Occasion to cross the Seas for Men of this mold. Those of our own Soil are neither few, nor secret; neither obscure, nor timorous. They write and translate without end. They calculate their Schemes for every Age, Sex, and Capacity. Our Pens need not be employ'd now in unravelling the Design, or detecting the Errors of a French Jesuit, a Polish or Prussian Fugitive, unless we will court the Fate of that People, who were so hot upon extending their Conquests Abroad, that they lost their Native Country.

But though our present Condition makes it necessary to lay aside the Bishop's Prudential, it may perhaps be thought that his learned Pieces will not bear a Translation; that, as they are made up of Testimonies, or Authorities and Reasonings upon them, and those sometimes built upon Philological Critic, so, when translated, they will lose much of their force, scarce be intelligible, but by no means pleasant, and from the real Testimony of Antiquity, become no more than the hear-say of a Modern. All this may be confessed, and yet there may be just Reason for this Work. What has been often practised by those of the other side, can't by them be rationally blamed in their Adversaries. It is pretended by Dr. Clarke, Dr. Whitby, &c. that the Fathers of the three first Centuries are on their side. Specious Citations are publish'd to that purpose, frequent Appeals to MSS, and Conjectures advanced upon the
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old Readings. Shall it then be deemed a Fault on the other side to oppose these Citations, to clear and rescue them from their respective fraudulent Possessors, to throw off the Interpolations, and supply the Defects of them? To shew their true Sense, and, which is often necessary, to point out where they are really to be met with. Does a Passage translated lose its force on one side, and continue as good as ever on the other? Is it not then necessary to engage them at their own Weapon; by this Method to satisfy the distracted Minds of well-meaning Men; to shew them that they have the Voice of the Scriptures speaking for them, not as depraved by perverse, partial, and subtle Comments, but as believed, taught, and explained by Persons of Holiness and Simplicity, from the Apostolical Age to that Period, in which the present Creed was declared? But besides, if this is seriously the Case, why have we translated the Holy Scriptures? Have not they lost as much of their Evidence and Authority by the Versions as any other translated Books? I'm afraid more. Are they considered as translated, Original Testimony, or Hear-say? Humane or Divine? Where are there greater Difficulties; and what Volumes has it cost the Learned to make them understood? Upon this Account then, as well as from the Conduct of the Adversary, there lies no Objection to this Attempt. It may be allowed that the Pleasure of Reading will be but small, if that is conceived chiefly to consist in witty and quaint Expressions, surprizing Turns of Thought, flowing Periods, and an agreeable variety of Measure: But as the true Ornaments in our Author's Way were an exact Method, perspicuity of Style, and just Reasoning, there is no doubt but that he who takes Satisfaction in a search after Truth, the settling his own Principles, and the promoting Religion in a profane Age, will find what he much wanted and desired.

Besides, the Defence of the great Prelate could not be so effectually made any other way as by a Translation of these Pieces. Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston, and others, have in innumerable Passages of their Writings represented him as speaking very favourably on their side, and as inconsistent, where-
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soever he opposes them. Here the English Reader may see his whole Scheme, and if solicitous about Truth and Piety, make a solid Judgment upon him and his Animadverters. In abrupt Fragments there is opportunity to deceive, but where the whole is laid before us, there is scarce room for a Mistake. Here he may perceive the Unfairness of insisting upon all Passages seemingly derogatory, and particularly upon the whole Section concerning the Subordination, without any Notice of those other Parts, which will not admit such a Construction; or the least Attempt to prove, that he who wrote the one, could not rationally be the Author of the other.

As the Defence of our Learned Author, and the Management of the Controversy on the other side may well justify this Attempt, so I hope the Difficulties which occurred in it have rather increased my trouble, than will give any Uneasiness to the Reader. It is greatly to my Satisfaction, that this way of Writing so full of Breaks and Citations will scarce admit Ornament, or Elegance, Talents I don't pretend to. All I would promise is, that the Evidence shall appear in its full force, and what Spirit soever the Book may have lost in the Transfusion, that the Sense and Substance shall remain sound and perfect. The Citations have already past through so many Hands, both Friends and Adversaries, that though they might all have been collated with ease, I could not see any Reason for such obscure Diligence. I therefore have contented my self with justifying the Author, where Dr. Clarke, &c. have thought fit to censure him; in which part of the Work Dr. Waterland has in a great Measure prevented me. I have in short endeavoured to make a good Book more useful, and with all my Heart wish it might have been the Business of an abler Hand.

My Design, and the manner of executing it thus briefly shewn, I beg leave to give some Account of this way of Writing, of Appeals to Antiquity.

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It is very well calculated to promote the Interest of Religion, as it applies to the good Sense and mature Judgment of all Men. Its Approaches to the Mind or Understanding are gentle and meek. It does not formally dispute, where the Sentiment is never so Argumentative; nor only count Names in producing so many Persons of the same Opinion. It lays down the Evidence in its full Strength, and then asks, whether it is conclusive, or not. How strongly soever any Thing is urged, it may be considered without that Reluctance, which direct Opposition creates, or living Controvertists raise; and if the Mind is once brought to a modest Diffidence of it self, and a due Regard for the Sentiments of Men, as learned and honest as those of the present Age, and blessed with far greater Opportunities of knowing the Truth than any we have, great Satisfaction will arise from it. It will preclude the Fancies of metaphysical Heads. It will settle our own Reason, by shewing us the general Suffrage. It will adjust the Sense of difficult Scriptures, and give us a rational Account of the Authority of our Bible. To its own intrinsic Worth it has this to be added, that it has been of great force with Men of the best Judgment and Temper, and that those who through the Intemperance of Opposition have at one time rejected it, at another have plumed greatly upon it. Indeed it would be a wonder not to find this general Inclination towards it, when humanely speaking, there is no stronger Argument of Truth than the Concurrence of such Circumstances in the Evidence for it, as we find in this Case, viz.

1. *Men of the greatest Simplicity, accustomed to every Thing more than the use of their Reason, may easily be drawn into any Schemes; but that those who have excelled in a natural Quickness of Understanding, have been admired for Arts, Eloquence, and Critic, should give in to the same, and express themselves in Substance at least after the same manner, would be strange, if the Opinion they held in common was not justly grounded.*

2. *Those*

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2. Those who have been trained up in servile Employments, and by the Meanness of their Condition and Business been used to bend to every Sentiment; who had not much to lose, if nothing to gain, might be led to think with every Man in his turn; but that Men in the highest Glory of Civil Affairs, Men of the most eminent Station, and considerable Fortunes, should lay themselves under Odium and Incapacities for a false Notion is scarce to be thought.

3. The Inhabitants of a small or large Kingdom might be brought to concur in Profession by Force or Artifice; but that People of distant Nations, neither under the same Governours, nor the same Forms of Government, nor a common Interest, should agree, is scarce to be accounted for from any Thing but the Power of Truth.

4. The Boldness and Extravagance of the African and Asiatic Style might make some Things appear grand and surprising, which were not so. The rough Northern Strain might on the other Hand as much depreciate great Matters, and the mutual Diversity of Idioms might render it difficult to represent the same Thing so, as that it should actually be known to be the same; but here again to find all Agreement supposes a great deal of Truth.

5. The Tempers of Men make as great an Alteration in their way of Writing, as any Thing; and where this notwithstanding, there is an Agreement, it is generally Truth that brings them together. Some write with an Air of Authority. With them all is Aphorism and Precept. They seem to suppose themselves out of the way of being questioned, and frequently speak with an almost unguarded Simplicity. Others have a more flowing, free Vein, back every Assertion with an Argument, and prevent an Objection by answering unaskt. A third sort, as though disdaining the obvious Clearness of the one, and the authoritative Simplicity of the other, sets up for something above both, and often arrives at such an Obscurity as is not to
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be understood, or such a Nicety as is not to be built upon. All these when found concurring in the same Proposition, though not taking the same way to illustrate, explain, or prove it, are strong Inducements to every sober Man to think there is something in it. What Ignatius commands and teaches; what Barnabas's *Allegorics*, Hermas's *Visions*, &c. Clement's *Learning of the Antients*, Tertullian's *Subtlety*, Irenæus's *Traditive Researches*, Origen's *Critic and Philosophy*, &c. embrace; what Persons of all Attainments, Employs, Climates, Languages, Interests, Tempers, and Designs have consentiently held, comes greatly recommended to every modest sensible Man.

6. But this, as strong as it may seem, is not all that we find in some Cases. Thus when those divided from the Body, still hold any Opinions held by that Body, it is a strong Presumption they are true; because it is naturally to be supposed, that having broken through that Tenderness, which would have prevented the Separation, they are now preparing to make the Catalogue of their Reasons for it as large as they can.

7. Again, when those Persons who are suspected of Heresy do plainly ground their Notions upon Principles in common with those, who are by themselves esteemed Heretics, so that the Opposition made by the Orthodox, was either not strong enough against the antient Heretics, or else too strong for the present, this is also another promising Circumstance; because it must be the force of Truth only, which could make them condemn themselves in the Persons of others.

8. When the Scoffs and Narratives of profest Enemies, and the direct Assertions of those who in some Points divide from the Body, and the plain Consequences of their Concessions, who in the very Point in Question dissent, do all appear to confirm the Sentiment and Declaration contended for, what can be desired more?

But

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But yet I must add another Circumstance of this Evidence; if we find the Fathers from the first expressing themselves after that manner which some are pleased to call inconsistency: If they assert the Divinity of our Lord clearly, and at the same time maintain his Subordination to the Father: If they have done thus not only in popular, but controversial Pieces, and their Sentiment has been embraced by the best succeeding Writers, nay their very Words retained, except where they became a Subterfuge for Heretics, and then only explained in the Creeds, not rejected or altered in the Writings of particular Doctors, is it not strange to think that Men of Simplicity, Clearness, Sublety, Learning, and an Inclination to teach others, should all conspire together to Write in such a Way as should puzzle succeeding Ages to understand them, should seem contradictory and obscure to the greatest degree, when according to the Arian Scheme there is nothing in Nature clearer or more easy to be expressed than that, which they have left so intricate and involved? Is it not strange that the Post-Nicene Fathers should strenuously contend for and often use the Terms most admired by the Arians, if they were thought by the Ante-Nicene to infer the Arian Doctrine, and used with that View?

If an Evidence thus circumstantiated is of force to persuade, our Judicious and Learned Bishop has furnish'd us with it. He has defended the Nicene Creed, and plainly shewn that the Authors in Antiquity prior to it, notwithstanding they lay under all the difficulty before suggested, have entirely concurred in the Doctrine therein defined. They have all wrote the same Things. Those that were in other Points deemed Erroneous, have consented here. Those who in the Article of our Lord's Divinity have gone off from the Nicene Fathers, stand condemned

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demned in the Person and Character of the more antient and confessed Heretics. Those who set up for the Wits of their Age, and professedly opposed our Holy Religion, scoffed at Christianity upon the very Grounds, for which now Christians would have it corrected. The Controversy is reduced to the Proof of this Fact, that the Nicene Fathers did not define or declare any Thing as an Article of Faith, which was not so from the Beginning. It is not written in Opposition to, or as a Supplement of the Scripture-Doctrine, but as a strong Probability that the Doctrine said to be contained therein by the Orthodox, is the true Sense of Scripture. It claims not upon Infallibility, and strict Certainty, but upon this rational Foundation: That it is scarce possible Men of Sense and Learning should not understand the first Principles of that Faith, which was delivered to every Catechumen; that pious and prudent Men should endeavour to conceal it; that Men under the promise of Divine Assistance, and the Use of the best Means should be deceived; and that those Fathers who were before the Nicene Council, and those who were after it, should agree in the Use of the same seemingly depreciating Expressions, and yet the Members of the Council neither dissenting from those before them, nor those that followed them, but agreeing with both should give us a new Creed, and put a Cheat upon the World. It no further meddles with any Explanations of the Mystery, where-soever occurring, than by rendering the meaning of the Words plain, to shew the general Sense of the Article. It wishes that Men in all Ages had stood clear of this Presumption, and by believing as the Scripture teaches, and the antient Doctors consentiently expound, had kept themselves free from endless, unprofitable Disputes, and preserved the Peace of the Church. There is in it no Controversy about Words, but from the Collation of an Author with himself,

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or those of the same Age, or others with whom he either plainly professed, or might reasonably be supposed to agree in Sentiment; no depreciating Holy Scripture, nor advancing the Tradition of the truly Catholic Church; but such a temperate Procedure, as allows the one to be what it truly is, the greatest Authority, and the other the soundest Explication. It is really an appeal to the Sense of Mankind upon the most sacred Doctrine of the Church, and stands in need of no other Preparation in a Reader than Humility and a sober Mind. So impartial, as that the most rigid and expert Writers for the Arian Scheme have borrowed their strongest Objections from it; and so full, that out of it the Orthodox have supplied them with that they overlooked, Answers to them. It is to be lamented that the same Method has not been pursued by those of the other side; but that such a Vein of Sophistry and Misrepresentation has run through their Works.

With what artful Harangue do some of them lament the daily advances of Popery, and recommend the Authority of Holy Scripture in such a strenuous manner, as though it was determined by their Adversaries to lay aside that Divine Book for humane and fallible Writings! Who would think that after all, no more was intended than to use the best means of understanding the difficult Parts of it? Others make it their Business to cry down Antiquity, not by shewing that it is of no Use; but by gravely proving that it is not equal to, nor ought to supersede the Word of God; not by any other Argument against it, than what will affect all humane Writings; namely, wise Suggestions that the Fathers are fallible in themselves, and have actually erred in many Particulars. Thus we cannot submit to the Authority of Scripture without rejecting the Sense of Antiquity; or search after the Sense of Antiquity

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tiquity without doing despite to the Scriptures. Tho' the Bible can receive no new Force or Strength from the Fathers; may it not receive from them some Light and Explication? Why then should we obstinately refuse our own advantage, and separate Things, which may with the greatest Benefit be joined together?

Others insist upon the Simplicity of the most ancient Creeds, and decry all subsequent Explications. They seem to think their Authority greater than it is; and though at other times they have too much Critic to allow the Creed, commonly so called, to be the Apostles, often assert it is so to the Populace. Now what are Creeds but Extracts from Scripture, and only so far good and obligatory as agreeable thereto? And what should give a sober Man, and well pleased with the Creed commonly called the Apostles, any distaste in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan? The Explanation of Difficulties has alway been allowed and practiced. What is the New Testament in many parts of it, but a Comment upon the Old? What are the Promises of God, or the Doctrines of Salvation the worse for being made more explicite? What are our present Laws in great part, but an Enlargement of those more Antient, as remarkable for their Soundness, and much more so for their Simplicity? Was it Necessity, Expedience, Tyranny or Conceit that multiplied, and extended them? May not the Church vary the Expressions of the Creed for the general good, as well as the State alter those of the Laws? May not too short a Creed open the way to Imposture as well as too long an one? Can Words misunderstood or abused be rectified without an Explication? Is it impossible there should be mistake or design; and if either happens, is it amiss to correct, or oppose them? If the same Faith is professed, the Matter is not great what Creed is made use of. And if any thing is amiss in one or another of them, there is a nearer

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way to mend it than by endeavouring to possess the People that there has been an Attempt upon their Understandings, and a real endeavour to corrupt their Faith ever since the Days of the Apostles. For how short and simple soever the Creeds antienter than the Nicene were, there is a shorter, and a plainer, which Episcopius admires, in the Acts of the Apostles. Shall we reject all the other, and make that the Standard? And shall we not afterwards, as they did, enlarge by way of Explication? This indeed, if Men would talk seriously, must be. Both Arians and Orthodox agreed at Nice, &c. that an Explanation was needful; both offered their several Creeds, so then the whole Catholic Church, without Exception, thought the antient Simplicity was not so expedient as something further, or at least that an explanatory Creed was lawful, that to clear up a difficulty was no Imposition, and that the Length or shortness of a Creed were matters either in themselves indifferent, or in certain Circumstances very expedient.

Others are employed wholly in playing upon their Adversaries disjointed sentences, which indeed by themselves speak seemingly for them; but when considered with the whole Scheme, from which they are taken, are strong Arguments of the Candour, Consistency and Diligence of their respective Authors. They cunningly go off from the Question by making that a Disquisition of Philology in general, which ought only to have been a search after the Use of Words among the Fathers in Particular. Thus because ἀγέννητος signifies unbegotten and unmade, they infer that our Lord is on'y unbegotten; because γεννητος signifies begotten and made, they infer that our Lord is on'y made. Here they are plainly guilty of perverting the Sense of those, they pretend to explain. For tho' ἀγέννητος doth in general signify both unbegotten and unmade, no Father ever used it in the former sense concerning

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concerning the Lord Jesus; and though γεννητός does in general signify begotten and made, no Father ever used it in the latter Sense concerning our Lord. They stay not to ask how Origen, Clement, Irenæus, &c. used this or that Word; but having found, what the generally, received Idea and most extensive Sense is, they take it for granted that so the Father argued from it.

Others again argue from Principles admitted by the Fathers to such Conclusions as they never made. Thus because the Fathers allow a Subordination, they conclude that the same Fathers hold either a specific Trinity, or an Inferiority of Nature in the Son, &c. But both these Conclusions they were so far from making, that they abhorred them. They had too much Philosophy to admit that a Subordination implied an Inferiority of Nature; and too much Religion to receive Polytheism. They constantly assert an Equality and an Unity.

These Men regard not the different Ends and Designs of the Writers. From popular Tracts they cite what is no where to be met in the more accurate Pieces. From an eager Opposition to the Sabellians they will have them to be Arians; and from their warm contests with the Arians they infer that they are Sabellians. They endeavour either to make them their own, or shew that they are not worth notice by such Methods, as would introduce universal Confusion, and render it too difficult to find out any Thing, but the fancied Errors of those, who should teach us.

They find fault with the use of Metaphysical Arguments, though they deal in them as often as their Adversaries; and are by no means for admitting remote Consequences. Granting what they call remote, to be really so, if the consequences are just, the difficulty of

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coming at them is no Objection against them. Neither Reason, nor Scripture encourage us to believe that Truth is always upon the Surface; and both our Lord and his Apostles, in points of the greatest Importance, confuted those, with whom they had to do, by Implications.

In a Word, one while they call the stream of Antiquity theirs, another while they care not whether it is or not. When urged with Scripture they produce an antient Comment in a partial manner. When urged with Antiquity they produce a plausible ambiguous Text. They desire there may be no names of Distinction, but what they shall give, and are as uneasy to be called what they deserve, as if they really thought themselves in the wrong, In spite of Argument this must be the Conclusion, that the Doctrine of their Adversaries is only Scholastical, and their Tenet purely Sabelian; two Points which they love to assert, but can't be prevailed with to prove.

I ask pardon for this Digression, and shall now leave the Reader to peruse the excellent Pieces translated for him, after I have rather pointed out, than cited at large what our famous Chillingworth says in favour of Antiquity. In his celebrated Book printed at Oxford 1638, he has considered the Rule of Faith, and the Interpretation of it. In both these particulars, he greatly depends upon the Voice of the Fathers, the Primitive Church, and Universal Tradition. He affirms it to be a Thing credible in it self ¹. He makes it the Basis and Foundation of Scripture; that, upon which it rests, and from which it hath its Attestation. He allows that the Churches Interpretation, the Universal Church, is always true ². He challenges his Adversary to prove any Interpreta-

¹ p. 62. §. 25. p. 69. §. 45, 46. p. 98. §. 119. p. 114. §. 155. p. 140. §. 27. p. 148. §. 36. p. 220. §. 53. ² p. 84. §. 87, 88, 89. p. 72. §. 53. p. 154. §. 46. p. 184. §. 90.

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tion of his by Universal Tradition; and promises, we are ready to embrace it. *No Man can assert it higher, or pay a greater deference to it than he does. He seems indeed almost to confine the use of it to one Point, the proving the Canon of Scripture. But this does not make his Authority the less in any other case. For he plainly confesses, nay contends for it, that where it is Universal, it is of it self evidently credible. Every one then is left to judge for himself, where it is Universal, and wheresoever it is so, Mr. Chillingworth has given us his Judgment: That nothing more is requisite, it is of it self evidently credible.*



The READER is desir'd to correct the Errors occasioned by the great Distance between the Author and the Press.

In the First VOLUME.

PAGE 21. Read *World*. for *Word*. p. 23. r. *apposite*. f. *opposite*. p. 25. r. *Mortal*. f. *Moral*. p. 62. *Spiritual*. f. *Spiritus*. p. 89. r. *into*. f. *in*. p. 129. in the Notes, r. *Chapter*. f. *Church*. p. 139. Notes, r. *Chapter*. f. *Christ*. p. 159. r. *our*. f. *one*. p. 167. a Comma after *Number*. p. 168. r. *took*. f. *look*. p. 199. r. *World*. f. *Word*. p. 222. r. *Invisible*. f. *Visible*. p. 240. Notes, r. *Chapter*. f. *Church*. p. 246. r. *almost*. f. *at most*. p. 286. r. *same*. f. *one*. p. 305. r. *owes*. f. *was*. p. 327. r. *yet*. f. *that*. p. 330. r. *Nis*. f. *Nü*. p. 352. Notes, r. *Zonaras*. f. *Zonarus*. p. 361. insert [them] after [he always had]. p. 377. r. *αὐτῷ*. f. *αὐτῶ*. p. 393. after potentially, add [then he may be suppos'd to say the Father existed not actually, but potentially]. p. 394. r. in *potentia*. f. *potential*. p. 411. r. *time*. f. *him*. p. 416. insert after [with God] [but he was not the Word of God] according to our Author, &c. p. 417. r. in the four Chapters. f. in the fourth Chapter. p. 426. r. I say. f. say. p. 434. r. *no*. f. *know*. p. 438. r. *that*. f. *a*.

In the Second VOLUME.

PAGE 7. Read *de fide*. for *de fulm*. p. 14. insert after [ought to be call'd] so, and then a Comma. p. 15. r. *our*. f. *one*. p. 31. r. *more in the Father than in the Son*. p. 68. r. *so*. f. *to*, and a Comma after *singular*. p. 77. dele *this* and the Comma after *Generation*. p. 81. r. *cannot*. f. *can*. p. 251. r. *thy*. f. *the*. p. 255. r. *our*. f. *one*. p. 261. Notes, insert after [very remarkable] that the *Jews*. p. 265. dele *selves*. p. 297. r. *both*. f. *Dr. Bull*. p. 317. r. *Eleutherius*. f. *Eleutherus*. p. 372. r. *Men*. f. *me*. p. 373. r. *imprudently*. f. *impudently*.



To the very LEARNED and PIOUS

PRELATE
The Great
ORNAMENT
OF OUR

Church, University, *and* Age,

The Right Rev. Father in CHRIST

JOHN FELL,

LORD BISHOP of *Oxford*,

A N D

DEAN of the magnificent COLLEGE
and CATHEDRAL of *Christ-Church*,

T H I S

Defence of the Nicene Creed

(As, in some sort, a

MONUMENT and PLEDGE

OF HIS

GRATITUDE and singular RESPECT)

IS DEDICATED

by the most Devoted

Admirer of His Virtues,

GEORGE BULL.

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Defence of the Nicene Creed

(As in some few

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GRATITUDE and singular Respect

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By the most Devoted

Slaves of His Virtues

GEORGE BULL.



TO THE
READER.



IN an Apology, which I publish'd
for a Book entitled, *The Harmony of the Apostles*, the first Fruits
of my Studies, being forc'd up-
on it by a very grievous and
unjust Calumny, I us'd these
Words: "That I had drawn out certain Histo-
"rico-Ecclesiastical Theses concerning the Son's
"Divinity, in which I was persuaded, I had
"clearly demonstrated the Consent of the anti-
"ent Doctors before the *Nicene* Council with
"the *Nicene* Fathers, both with respect to the
"Consubstantiality and Co-eternity, by Tradi-
"tion from the Age of the Apostles; but that
"for want of Health, and through a great ma-
"ny other Cares and Business, I could not as
"yet make up the scatter'd Sheets, and finish
"the imperfect Work." This drew upon me the
Requests

To the READER.

Requests of learned Men and Friends from all Quarters, that I would heartily set about the compleating so necessary a Work. For they suggested that the Writings of *Sandius*, an open and a bold Defender of the *Arian* Blasphemy, as the truly Catholic Doctrine, and approved by all the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, were every where in the Hands of our young Students in Divinity and others. At last overcome with their Importunities, (though not then enough at leisure, or in Health sufficient for so great a Work), I again turn'd over the Works of the Primitive Fathers; the Testimonies I had formerly collected for my Design I diligently re-examin'd, made some Additions to them, and very carefully weigh'd what was offer'd by *Sandius* and his Accomplices; then I digested the rude Materials into as easy and natural an Order as I could. The Work thus finish'd lay by me five Years.

IF you ask why it came out so late, I'll tell you plainly. I offer'd it to three Booksellers successively upon very fair Terms. All of them upon one pretence or another refus'd to undertake it; afraid, I suppose, lest the Obscurity of the Author, and the Difficulty of the Subject (what few car'd to spend their Time upon) would make the Book sell but dully. This not succeeding, my slender Fortunes, and my large Family would not permit me to take the only way that was left, and print it my self.

UPON

To the READER.

UPON this I brought the neglected Work home with me, and laid it in my Study, contenting my self with having endeavoured (as much as lay in me) the Defence of Divine Truth, and the Gratification of my Friends.

AFTER it had been bury'd there a long time, at last upon Advice of a Friend, I rais'd it up again, put it into the Hands, and submitted it to the Judgment of that excellent Person and finish'd Divine Dr. *W. Jane*, the worthy Regius Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*. He according to his usual Candour took the Trouble of reading it, honour'd it with his Suffrage, commended it to the Favour and Patronage of the Great Bishop of *Oxford*, and easily obtain'd from his singular Humanity and Love for Catholic Truth, that it should be printed at the *Theatre*, and publish'd at his Charge. After all this, a great deal of other Business in the Press, delay'd the finishing it some time.

INDEED if I could have foreseen the great Delays of the Publication, you should have had something more accurate, elegant and full. For I compos'd the Work, as I told you before, upon the pressing Importunities of Friends, who demanded out of my Collections from the Fathers, examin'd and improv'd, a present Antidote against the poisonous Writings of *San-dius*. Afterwards when the Booksellers gave me

To the READER.

me no Hopes of publishing it, what occasion for my further Pains in augmenting and adorning a condemn'd Work? At last when my Sheets were unexpectedly admitted to the Press, and in the Bookfeller's Hands, they were out of my Power.

IT were to be wish'd indeed that this important Argument had fall'n to the Share of some Person better furnish'd by Providence with Learning, Leisure, Books, and other Circumstances, such as our Church of *England* has a great many (and may she always continue to have, I beseech thee, O God). But as yet no Man, that I know, has undertaken this Province professedly and fully. Therefore be pleas'd to accept what we have done, till you are better furnish'd from some more able Pen. You have all that could be done for you by me, a Man of mean Parts and Learning, the Master of a small Study, often indispos'd, involv'd in Domestic Cares, ty'd down to a Country Cure, far remov'd from the Conversation of learned Men, and even an Exile from the Commonwealth of Letters. But this I dare engage and solemnly profess to you, that I have us'd the utmost Fidelity. I have not cited any one place for the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council, which I did not judge, after a serious Examination both of the Place and Context, to make for my purpose; I have not curtail'd any Thing, but given you all entire. The Passages of the *Greek* Fathers are
quoted

To the READER.

quoted in the Original, as well as in *Latin*, that those who understand the Language may the better judge of the genuine Sense. I have not knowingly concealed any Thing, which the late Defenders of *Arianism* produce for their Cause. I have not endeavoured to soften the harsher Sayings of the Antients by strain'd Distinctions, but to prove solidly, that their Words, if interpreted according to their Scope and Meaning, or in Consistency with other more clear Passages, which I have cited, don't only admit, but must have a Catholic Sense. In one Word, I own freely I may be mistaken, but I deny that I intended to deceive any one. I'm fully persuaded, and that upon mature Consideration, of that which I've endeavour'd to prove to others; namely, that all the approv'd Fathers and Doctors of the Church to a Man, who were before the Council of *Nice*, even from the Days of the Apostles, taught the very same Thing, (although sometimes perhaps in other Words, and another manner of speaking,) which the *Nicene* Fathers determin'd concerning the Son's Divinity against *Arius*, and other Heretics.

I DESIRE you'll be so kind as to excuse the Errors of the Press: It has been my Misfortune, that I could not attend the examining and correcting any of it, except the last Sheet. All I can do, is to give you an Account of the considerable Errata, which I have carefully done in a Table prefixt to the Work.

AND

To the READER.

AND now, Reader, (if thou art a Lover of Truth and Godliness), whatsoever in this Work shall tend to confirm thy Faith in a primary Article of Christianity, will be just Cause why we should both give Thanks to Almighty God. I desire of thee only this reward of my Labour, (and this I earnestly desire), that thou wilt sometimes remember me, (a sinful Man), and mine in thy Prayers. Farewel in our Saviour Christ, our Lord and our God.



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D E F E N C E

O F T H E

N I C E N E F A I T H .



The P R E A M B L E ,

I N W H I C H

*The Occasion, Design, and Division of the
whole Work is set forth.*



THE first œcumenical Council held at *Nice* has always had, amongst all good Christians, the greatest Authority and Esteem, and not undeservedly : For never was there a Synod in the Christian World, which might more justly be call'd universal and free ; never an Assembly of Bishops and Prelates more venerable, more sacred since the Death of the Apostles. *There (as Eusebius¹ tells us) were met together the chief of the Ministers of God out of all the Churches, which had*

¹ De Vit. Const. l. 3. c. 7, &c. p. 401. Ed. Valesii.

A DEFENCE of

filled all Europe, Africa and Asia. One sacred House, as it were enlarged by God, contained in it Syrians, Cilicians, Phenicians and Arabians; besides the Palestines, Ægyptians, Thebæans, Libyans, and others from Mesopotamia. One Bishop came from Persia, nor was the Scythian Bishop wanting to make up this Assembly. Pontus and Galatia, Pamphylia and Cappadocia, Asia and Phrygia sent the choice of theirs. The Thracians, Macedonians, Achæans and Epirotes, those also, who were at a very great distance beyond them, were present. From Spain ¹ it self that celebrated Person Hosius, was one of the Number in Council with them. The Place of the Bishop of Rome, the Imperial City, who was absent because of his old Age, was supplied by his Presbyters. Such a Crown connected and joyned by the bond of Peace, did this one Emperor Constantine alone dedicate to Christ his Saviour, as a glorious Monument of Gratitude for the Victories obtain'd over his Enemies, constituting this Assembly as a certain Image of the Apostolical Choir in our times. In this Council were above 250 Bishops, (*Athanasius, Hilarius, Jerome, Ruffinus, Socrates,* ² and many others say that 38 Bishops sate in this Synod) but the Presbyters, who accompany'd them, the Deacons, Acolyths, &c. were almost innumerable. Now of these Ministers of God, some were very remarkable for Eloquence, some for Severity of Life and indefatigable Pains; others were adorned with Modesty, and Affability; some were venerable for their advanc'd Age; others excell'd in a juvenile Vigor of Body and Mind, &c.

2. The Business of this Synod was for the most part concerning the chief Article of the Christian Religion, namely, concerning the Dignity of the Person of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Whether he was to be worship'd as True God, or to be placed in the Rank

¹ Valefius upon the Place. ² Ibid. Socrates mentions 300 (Book 1. Ch. 8. p. 17.) and cites Eusebius for it; but in the same chapter, after a Recital of the Creed, says they were 318. p. 19.

or Order of Creatures, or Beings subject to the True God? If we imagine that in a Question of the Greatest moment all the Governors of the Church have monstrously err'd, and persuaded the Christian People into this their Error; how can we believe the Words of our blessed Lord, that *he would be with the Apostles, and of consequence their Successors, to the End of the World?* (For since the Promise extends to the End of the World, Christ must needs be suppos'd, in the Persons of his Apostles, who were not to live so long, to include their Successors.)

3. Almost as often as I consider these things, I recollect with Indignation, and Horror, the marvellous Ignorance, or rather impious Madness of those, who have dar'd openly to rail at the venerable Fathers, as Persons, who either maliciously, ignorantly, or unadvisedly have deprav'd the Catholic Doctrine concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, delivered down by the Apostles, and preserv'd in the Christian Church in the three first Centuries. Of this Stamp was *Sabinus the Macedonian* (to say nothing of those old and illustrious Calumniators, and Enemies of the *Nicene Creed*, the *Arians*) whose rash and immodest Censure of the Council of *Nice*, *Socrates* relates and confutes, Book the 1st, of his *Eccl. Hist. Ch. 8.* ' where that excellent Historian, after he has told us that he therefore wrote the History of that Council, that he might silence the Calumnies of such as suggested that it had err'd in a matter of Faith, adds these Words: *Neither let us believe Sabinus the Macedonian, who calls the Persons met in that Council ignorant plain Men. For this Sabinus Bishop of the Macedonians at Heraclea a City of Thrace, who collected the Acts of several Councils, derides the Bishops of the Nicene Council as rude and weak Men, not taking notice that he, at the same time, involves Eusebius, who after a long and strict Examination*

of it embrac'd the Creed, in this Accusation. Moreover some things he has on purpose omitted, some things he has perverted, and chang'd; but has wrested all to his own Sense and Design. He praises Eusebius as a creditable Witness, the Emperor as a very knowing Person in the Christian Faith; but blames the Nicene Creed as drawn up by ignorant and unskilful Men. The Words of that Eusebius, whom he calls a wise Man, and veracious, he knowingly despises: For Eusebius writes, that the Ministers of the Nicene Council were some of them remarkable for Wisdom, some for Constancy and Fortitude; and of the Emperor he says, that he brought them all to Unanimity and Concord. The same Socrates¹ in the 9th Ch. of the same Book blames Sabinus, because he had not consider'd this, namely, that though the Fathers of the Synod were rude and unlearned, yet they were enlighten'd by God, and his Holy Spirit, and therefore cou'd not err from the Truth. Socrates seems to have thought that the illuminating Grace of the Holy Spirit was present always with an universal Council of Bishops, to preserve them from Error, especially in necessary Articles of Faith. If any Man is unwilling to admit this, let him take the Reasoning of Socrates thus: --- The Nicene Fathers, how rude and ignorant soever suppos'd, were certainly for the greatest part pious. Now it is incredible that so many holy and approved Men meeting together from all parts of the Christian World (who, how ignorant soever in other respects, could not but know the Doctrine of the Trinity, that Introduction to Christianity, which usually was given to the *Catechumens*; or what they had received from their Ancestors concerning that Matter) could wickedly conspire, instead of the old Faith in a primary Article of our Religion, to coin a new one.

4. But to descend lower, in the Memory of our Fathers, *Faustus Socinus, Senensis* in his 2d Epistle to *Ra-*

¹ pag. 26, 27.

Radecius affirms that the Knowledge of the true Doctrine concerning God, namely, that the Father alone was True God, continued till the Council of *Nice*. *That Knowledge*, says he, *continued without Controversy till the Council, and ceased not amongst those who professed Christ, some time after.* For through all that time (as is plain from all the Writings of those Days) the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ alone, was believed to be that one true God, whom the Scriptures every where proclaim. If in this Place, when he says that all the Antients, till the Council of *Nice*, believ'd that the Father of Jesus Christ alone was that one true God, he is to be understood of the Prerogative of God the Father, as alone of himself true God, we confess it is very right: But then this is nothing to *Socinus* his purpose; and besides, it is certain that the knowledge of that Doctrine did not only continue till the *Nicene* Council, but has always been in the Church. But if this Proposition, The Father of Jesus Christ alone is the one true God, be understood exclusively, so that the Divinity of Christ be taken away, or deny'd, which Divinity the *Nicene* Synod defin'd, that the Son was true God of true God (this is certainly what *Socinus* wou'd have) then we contend, that it is plainly false, that all the Antients till the Council of *Nice* believed so; nay, we will shew that they all taught that the Son is of the same Nature with the Father, and therefore as truly God as the Father. Hence the same *Socinus*, elsewhere, viz. in his 3d Ep. to the same *Matt. Radecius* (contradicting himself, as he often does) confesses, *That from the infancy of the Church, there had been very many (innumerable) pious, learned Men, Martyrs too, who had embrac'd this grievous Error, viz. that Jesus Christ is that one God, who created all things, or certainly begotten of his proper Substance.* Now that the Son of God is begotten of the proper Substance of God, and therefore very God of very God, is the very Sum of that Doctrine, which the *Nicene* Fathers asserted against

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5. *M. Simon Episcopus*, in other respects a learned Divine, but an utter Stranger to Ecclesiastical Antiquity, although he thinks differently from *Socinus*, nay, has publickly defended the Pre-existence of the Son, not only to the Blessed Virgin, but also to the Creation, against *Socinus*, speaks unworthily, intolerably of the Faith of the *Nicene* Fathers; he inveighs against the *Nicene* and the other Creeds concurring with it, which were made after the third Century, (whether his Folly or his Impudence is the greater, I leave others to say) "As to other succeeding Creeds (says 'he) which "were made by œcumenical Councils, as they are "call'd, they, because of later Date, are not to be "compar'd with those (namely, with the Symbols and Confessions, by which, as by certain Tokens, in the three first Centuries, Christians were discerned from Infidels, and Catholics from Heretics) "and, if we "may speak the plain Truth, they rather seem to have "been huddled up, by quarrelsome and ambitious "Bishops, out of Heat, Fury, and Party Rage, than "to have proceeded from composed Minds." Now, that you may know the *Nicene* Creed is here struck at, he presently adds, "For who is ignorant of the sharp "Disputations in the Synod of *Nice*, and the obstinate "Contentions rais'd among the Bishops?" Who can think that such Reflections should come from a composed Mind? that a sober and a modest Person should thus lash the venerable Prelates of that most August Synod? But to the Matter in hand. He is not afraid to say, that the *Nicene* Creed was huddled up by the Bishops out of Heat, Fury, and Party Rage. The Emperor *Constantine*, who presided in this Synod, in his Epistle to the Churches concerning it, expressly testifies, "that in his presence all things were examined as "they ought to be²." Again in his Epistle to the

¹ Institut. Theolog. lib. 4. cap. 34.
Constantine, book 3. chap. 17. p. 405.

² Eusebius in the Life of

Church of *Alexandria*, he¹ says “ that he was present
 “ among the *Nicene* Bishops, as one of them, as their
 “ Fellow-servant, and so examined the Truth, that
 “ whatsoever seem’d to beget Doubt or Division was
 “ strictly sifted and laid open.” *Socrates* makes this
 Note upon the Passage², ---- “ The Emperor therefore
 “ wrote thus to the People of *Alexandria*, to shew
 “ them that the Definition of Faith had not been made
 “ at once, or perfunctorily ; but with much Disquifi-
 “ tion and Trial ; that not some things only were dis-
 “ covered, and others concealed, but that all things, what-
 “ soever tended to the Establishment of the Doctrine,
 “ were moved ; that though it was defined with Sim-
 “ plicity, it was first examined with Exactness.” Nay,
Eusebius himself, who sat next to the Emperor, (a just
 Writer³, a moderate one, and not unfair to the *Arians*)
 expressly says, “ that all the Bishops did unanimously
 “ subscribe the Creed made in that Council, not in-
 “ deliberately, rashly, or unadvisedly, but after an
 “ accurate, deliberate, diligent Scrutiny into every
 “ Sentence thereof, and particularly that of the Con-
 “ substantiality, before the Emperor.” See *Eusebius*⁴ in
 his Epistle to his own People. In the Beginning of the
 Council there were great Disputes, but by the pious and
 pacificatory Oration of the Emperor they were easily
 composed, as the same⁵ *Eusebius* testifies.

6. The Anonymous Author of a Book, published
 some time ago, and entitled *Irenicum Irenicorum*, &c.
 boldly pronounces the *Nicene* Fathers *Makers of a new*
*Creed*⁶, and endeavours all through the Work to prove
 the same by accumulated Testimonies of the *Ante-Nicene*
 Fathers, in appearance contradicting the *Nicene* Creed,

¹ *Socrates* book 1. chap. 9. p. 25 and 26. *Eusebius* confirms the
 former part of this Citation in almost the same Words, in the place
 just cited. ² p. 26. ³ See *Valesius* upon *Euseb.* lib. 3.

cap. 2. de vita Constant.

⁴ *Socrates* book 1. ch. 8. p. 20, 21,

22.

⁵ *Eusebius* in the *Life* of *Constantine*, book 3. chap. 13.

p. 404.

⁶ p. 84.

This Work *Carcellaus* ¹ says contains Arguments and Testimonies irrefragable. *Christopher Sandius* has employ'd himself the same way in his *Nucleus Eccles. Historia*, the second Edition, with large Additions of Fables and Contradictions. It's his whole Business (shameless Scribbler!) in that piece, to persuade his unlearned Readers, and such as are not conversant in the Antients, that the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, to a Man, were of *Arius's* Mind.

7. What I most wonder at, is that *Petavius*, a great Man, very learned, one who pretends the utmost respect for the Council of *Nice*, and every where professes to own the Creed confirm'd in it, against the *Arians*, to be Apostolical and Catholic, should grant to the *Arians*, what, if true, does most effectually tend to establish their *Herefy*, and utterly to take away and overturn the Creed and the Authority of the *Nicene Council*, viz. that most of the *Ante-Nicene* Bishops and Fathers were of *Arius's* Opinion. To this purpose he speaks *Ch. 5. §. 7. Book I.* concerning the Trinity.

“ Some of the Antients had this Opinion of the Divinity, and the Diversity of Persons in it, that
 “ there is one supreme, unbegotten, invisible God,
 “ who produced the *Logos* in Sound and Voice from
 “ himself; but that this *Logos* or Word was not, as
 “ Voice and Sound are, transient and dissipable; but
 “ such, being incorporate and subsisting, as should afterwards make all other things. They said that he
 “ was then produc'd by the supreme God the Father,
 “ when he determin'd to create the Universe, that he
 “ might be, as it were, his Minister. This Notion
 “ some express more clearly, others more obscurely.
 “ Of the former sort are *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus*, *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*. But these as well
 “ as the others mentioned (and he had mentioned all
 “ the Primitive Fathers before) thought that the Fa-

¹ Dissertat. Theolog. I. §. 118. in fine.

“ ther was superior to the Word in Age, Dignity and
 “ Power, but yet asserted him to be the Son of the
 “ Father’s Substance, or Nature; by this one thing
 “ they distinguish’d him from what is properly a Crea-
 “ ture, still supposing that he had a Beginning as
 “ much as the Creatures, that is, was not a distinct
 “ Subsistence from Eternity.” And again plainer than
 in the former passage, *ch. 8. §. 2.* of the same Book:
 “ It is very clear that *Arius* was a true *Platonist*, and
 “ follow’d the Opinion of those Antients, who, before
 “ the matter was discover’d and determin’d, fell at the
 “ same Stumbling-block. For they also taught that
 “ the Word was produc’d by God the Father, yet
 “ not from Eternity; but before he made the World,
 “ and in order to be his Assistant in the Creation of
 “ it. They did not think that he immediately and
 “ of himself made all things: which is *Philo’s* Opini-
 “ on also in his Book *Of the Maker of the World*.
 “ Therefore what *Alexander* complains of in his E-
 “ pistle, and what others say, who have wrote against
 “ this Heresy, that *Arius* was the Author of an O-
 “ pinion before unheard of, seems to me *Rhetoric* and
 “ *Hyperbole*; for I have produc’d a great many Anti-
 “ ents, who have taught the same things.”

8. Thus then, according to *Petavius*, we are to de-
 termine: (1.) That the Heresy of *Arius*, condemn’d by
 the *Nicene* Fathers, did in the main agree with the
Ante-Nicene Fathers. (2.) That the Doctrine of the
 true Divinity of the Son was neither determin’d, nor
 known before the Council of *Nice*. (3.) That *Alex-*
ander, and the other *Catholics*, who accus’d *Arius* of
 a new Doctrine, before unheard of in the *Catholic*
 Church, spoke largely, after the manner of Orators
 (in plain Terms) ly’d egregiously, (as the *Jesuits* often
 do) to serve the *Catholic* Cause. Unhappy *Arius*!
 Had *Petavius* liv’d in his Time, what an Advocate,
 what a Patron would he have enjoy’d! What made
Petavius write thus, is not easy to say. Some think

he

he was an *Arian*, and cunningly endeavour'd to instill the Poison. So *Sandius* (*Nucl. Hist. Eccl. L. 1. p. 156. Ed. Post.*) very plainly: "When I consider what *Petavius* says, that the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers taught as *Arius* did, and that Articles of Faith are to be proved by Tradition, I think it impossible that he should not believe the infallible Consequence of these Premises, namely, that the *Arian* Trinity, not the Consubstantiality, is an Article of Faith. He had two Reasons, I suppose, for making the contrary Conclusion. (1.) That he might avoid the Inconveniences of a Defection from the Roman Catholic to the *Arian* Persuasion. (2.) That he, a Jesuit and an Adversary, might furnish the *Arians* with a stronger Proof of their Doctrine; especially when it was sufficient to prove the Premises, and leave every sober Man to draw such a Conclusion, as would discover his Notion of the Trinity." But I think it appears from *Petavius's* Writings, that the Conjecture of this vain Man is false; and that, if he had any seditious Intention, and was not moved only by that usual Sauciness and Confidence of his in censuring the Fathers, he was endeavouring to serve the Papal, not the *Arian* Cause. For, granting the Catholic Doctors of the three first Centuries (as *Petavius* contends) were guilty of the same Error, which the Council of *Nice* afterwards condemned in *Arius*, these two things naturally follow: (1.) That little Credit is to be given to the Fathers of the three first Centuries, to whose Authority the Reformed Catholics especially appeal; because they had not sufficiently discerned and discovered the chief Heads of the Christian Faith. (2.) That œcumenical Councils have a Power of making, constituting and declaring new Articles of Faith. From which Consequences it may seem, that there is an ample Defence of those Additions the *Trent* Fathers have made to the Rule of Faith, and obtruded upon the Christian World; altho' this being granted, the Creed of the *Romanists* is not established;

established; because the Convention at *Trent* may more properly be called by any other Name than that of a general Council. But thus the Masters of this School have no Scruple to build their Pseudo-Catholic Creed upon the Ruins of the truly Catholic Faith. The very Oracles of God are to be condemned as obscure, the holy Doctors of the Primitive Church, the Bishops and Martyrs to be accused of Heresy, that the Creed of the degenerate *Romanists*, and the Authority of their Church may by any Methods be preserved entire. And yet these Sophists abhor us, as accursed *Chams*, as those who deride and despise the reverend Fathers; they boast that they follow the Faith of the antient Doctors, and very greatly revere their Writings. I dare not certainly affirm, that *Petavius* wrote with this View, I leave it to the Searcher of Hearts: This however I must say, that what the Jesuit has wrote, so grateful to the modern *Arians*, that they all look upon and embrace him as their Patron, is manifestly contrary to Truth, injurious and contumelious to the holy Fathers, as well *Nicene* as *Ante-Nicene*.

9. This then is the Scope and Design of my Work, clearly to shew that all the approved Fathers of the Church, before the *Nicene Council*, nay, even from the *Apostolic Age*, taught the same thing (although sometimes in different Words and manner of speaking) concerning the Divinity of the Son, which the *Nicene Fathers* determined, against *Arius*, and the other Heretics.

Vouchsafe, O blessed Jesus, the Coeternal Word of the Eternal Father, I humbly beseech Thee, (I, the greatest of Sinners, the meanest of thy Servants) to bless this Work which I have undertaken for thy Honour, and the good of thy holy Church. (I call thee to witness who knowest the Heart). Of thy infinite Mercy and great Goodness towards those that love thee, support and assist my Weakness in this Great Affair.
Amen.

10. The

10. The *NICENE CREED*, as we have it in *Eusebius's* Epistle ¹ to his *Cæsareans*, in *Athanasius's* Epistle ² to *Jovian*, and others, stands thus:

“ **W**E Believe in one God the Father, Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten, begotten of the Father, that is, of the Substance of the Father. God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, things in Heaven, and things on Earth, who for us Men, and for our Salvation came down, and was incarnate, and became Man, suffered, and rose again the third Day, and ascended into the Heavens, and comes to judge the Quick and the Dead; And in the Holy Ghost. And the Catholic and Apostolic Church doth anathematize those Persons, who say, that there was a time when He the Son of God was not: that He was not before He was born; that He was made of nothing, or of another Substance or Being; or that He is created, or changeable, or convertible.”

11. The Doctrine of the Son of God, as in this Creed comprehended, so far as belongs to our present Purpose, may be reduc'd to these Heads:

I. *The Son's Pre-existence before the Blessed Virgin, and consequently before the Creation, and the Creation of the World by the Son.*

II. *The Consubstantiality of the Son; that he is not of any created mutable Essence, but of the very same Nature with the Father.*

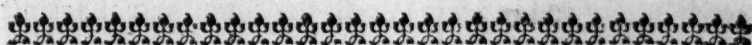
III. *The Son's co-eternal Existence with the Father.*

¹ Socrates book 1. chap. 8. p. 20, &c.
² p. 2. p. 781. Ed. Bened.

² Athanasius Tom.

IV. *The Subordination of the Son to the Father, as Author and Principle of him ; which is expressed by the Nicene Fathers after this twofold Manner : (1.) As they call the Father the one God. (2.) As they call the Son God of God, Light of Light, &c.*

All these Points we will prove in Order, and shew upon every one of them that the *Ante-Nicene* Faith doth exactly accord with the *Nicene*.



S E C T. I.

Of the Son's Pre-existence before the Blessed Virgin Mary, and even before the Creation of the World by him.

C H A P. I.

The Thesis propounded, and its first Part, viz. Of the Son's Pre-existence before the blessed Virgin Mary demonstrated.

IN this Thesis we will explain what the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers thought of the Son's Pre-existence.

T H E S I S.

ALL the Catholic Doctors of the three first Centuries taught, That **J E S U S C H R I S T**, he who was afterwards so called, existed, before he became Man, or before he was born according to the Flesh, of the Blessed Virgin, in another Nature, far more excellent than the Humane Nature ; that he appeared to Holy Men, giving them an Earnest, as it were, of his Incarnation ; that he always presided over and provided for

for the Church, which in time to come he would redeem by his own Blood; and of consequence that from the Beginning the whole Order or Thread of the Divine Dispensation (as *Tertullian* speaks) ran thro' him; farther yet, that he was with his Father before the Foundations of the World, and that by him all things were made.

1. Tho' the *Arians* never deny'd this, it may not be amiss briefly and in a few Words to demonstrate it against some other Opposers of the Catholic Doctrine concerning our Saviour. We assert two things in this Thesis, by way of Gradation: (1.) *That the antient Fathers believed and taught that Jesus Christ was, before he became Man, that he appeared to holy Men, &c.* (2.) *That he was with his Father before the Foundations of the World, and that all things were made by him.*

2. As to the former Part of this Thesis, the Fathers of the first Ages in general, teach, that the Son of God frequently appear'd to the holy Men under the Old Testament; yea they explain all those Appearances, in which the Name *Jehovah* and divine Honours are given to him that appears, (altho' at other times he is call'd the Angel, or an Angel) of this very Son of God. He is a Stranger in the Fathers who knows not this; I have a mind notwithstanding to produce some Testimonies of this Matter out of the Antients for the sake of Beginners in Divinity, who have not yet proceeded so far as the reading the Fathers; (a Study, which next to the holy Scriptures, should be the Foundation of all Theology.)

3. ¹ *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Trypho* largely shews, that it was Christ who appear'd to *Abraham under the Tree in Mamre*; who was the Lord, that received Power from the Lord the Father of all Things, to rain down Fire and Brimstone upon Sodom; who ap-

¹ Justin Martyr, Ed. Colon. 1686. p. 275, 277, 280, 281, 282.

pear'd to *Jacob in the Night*, who wrestled with him under the Image of a Man, who comforted him in his Exile; and lastly, who appear'd to *Moses in the burning Bush*.

4. *Irenæus* ¹ is of the same Opinion with *Justin* concerning him who appear'd to *Moses* and *Abraham*. He who was ador'd by the Prophets as living God, is the God of the Living, and his Word, or *Logos*; who both spoke to *Moses*, and blam'd the *Sadducees*, and gave us the Resurrection. ² Again, *Man* had learnt before in *Abraham*, and had also been accustom'd to follow the Word of God, (the *Logos*;) for *Abraham* by Faith following the Precept of the Word of God, freely gave up his only begotten and beloved Son a Sacrifice to God. And ³ a little after, *The Lord*, whose Day he desir'd to see, was not unknown to *Abraham*, nor the Father of the Lord; for he had learnt of the Word of the Lord, and believ'd him, &c.

5. *Theophilus* of *Antioch*,⁴ in his 2d Book to *Autolycus*, asserts that it was the Son of God who appear'd to *Adam* immediately after his Fall, who assuming the Person of the Father and Lord of all came into Paradise under the Person of God, and convers'd with *Adam*. I confess *Theophilus* in this same Place does not speak very honourably of the Son of God; but I shall clear that matter elsewhere.

6. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* ⁵ says the same things as *Justin*. He says his *Padagogus* (by whom he every where means Christ) appeared to *Abraham*, to *Jacob*, wrestled with him, and lastly manifested himself to *Moses*. The same Person in another Place ⁶ says, that Christ gave the World the Law of Nature, and the written Law of *Moses*. Wherefore the Lord (from the Words before it is plain he means Christ) deriving from

¹ Irenæus Ed. Colon. 1625. lib. 4. cap. 11. p. 328.

cap. 13. p. 329.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Appendix Op. Justin. Mart. p. 100. A.

⁵ Clem. Alex. Leyden 1616. p. 82.

⁶ p. 507.

Strom. 7.

one Fountain, both the first and second Precepts which he gave, neither over-look'd those who were before the Law, so as to leave them without Law; nor suffer'd those who minded not the Philosophy of the *Barbarians*, to do as they pleas'd. He gave to the one Precepts, to the other Philosophy, and concluded them in Unbelief till his coming, when, whosoever believes not, *is without excuse*.

7. In like manner *Tertullian*¹ against the *Jews*, Ch. 9. *He that spoke to Moses* was the very Son of God, who always appear'd. Many other Places² there are to the same purpose, but what is the most plain and full is in the 16th Chapter of his Book against *Praxeas*: *It was the Son* who judg'd the World from the beginning, destroy'd the lofty Tower, confounded the Languages, punish'd the whole World with a Deluge: It is he who being Lord rain'd Fire and *Brimstone* from the Lord upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. It was he, who always descended to converse with Men from *Adam* to the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* in Visions, in Dreams, &c. from the beginning, setting before us the order of that Dispensation which was afterwards manifested. *He always meditated, or exercis'd* those great things he was in Time to perform. God cou'd not otherwise converse with Men upon Earth, than as the Word, which was to become Flesh. He was therefore previously employ'd in these things, to lay a Foundation for our Faith, that we might the more readily believe that the Son of God was come into the World, when we knew he had formerly done so. *The rest of the consentient Testimonies*³ of the *Catholic Doctors*, before and after

¹ p. 194. *Tertull.* Ed. *Parif.* 1675. ² *Contra Marcion.* lib. 2. cap. 7. & lib. 3. cap. 6. & *contra Praxeam* cap. 14. p. 509. ³ *Origen contra Celsum*, Lib. 3. p. 119. & lib. 6. p. 329. *Novat. de Trinitate* cap. 25, 26, & 27. *Cypr. Tract.* 3. de *Simplic. Prælat.* *Athanas.* *Orat.* 4. *contra Arianos.* *Hilar.* lib. 4. & 12. de *Trinit.* *Philost.* *Hæres.* 84. *Chrysost.* hom. ad pop. *Antioch.* cap. 8. & in cap. 7. ad *Hebræos.* *Ambros.* lib. 1. de his qui initiantur, cap. 3. *Augustin.* Ep. 99, 111, 112. *Leo.* Ep. 17. *Theod. Quest.* 68. in *Gen.* &c.

the Council of *Nice* I shall only refer to in the Margin.

8. Some there are, who laugh at those Dreams, this Dorage of the Fathers, and are well satisfy'd that the Angel, who thus appear'd to the *Patriarchs, &c.* and was ador'd by them, was only a created Angel, one that so bore the Name and Person, one that so negotiated the Affairs of God, as an Embassador does those of his Prince.

9. To these Men I answer: (1.) Granting the Fathers were mistaken, this however is sure, that they believ'd our Saviour Jesus Christ existed before he was born of the Blessed Virgin, which is as much as we attempted to prove. You'll say, it is likely they were deceiv'd in the Conclusion, who err'd in the Premises. I confess it, supposing they had only built their Conclusion upon these false Premises; but the Case is quite otherwise. For though the Fathers use this Argument in some Places, they every where plainly tell us, that they are concluded by other clear Texts of Scripture, and by Apostolical Tradition, as we will shew in its proper Time and Place. But (2.) I am, and always shall be, afraid of interpreting Scripture contrary to the stream of Antiquity, unless upon the most clear Arguments against it, a Case which I believe will never happen. The consentient Judgment of primitive Antiquity would surely outweigh a Multitude of Probabilities and plausible Reasonings. But, you'll say, you have very plain Reasons in the Case before us.

10. First it is objected: *Exod. iii. 4.* we read that God spoke to Moses out of the Bush of Fire; and *Exod. xix. 20.* and *xx. 1.* that God gave him the Law; whereas notwithstanding, it is manifest from other Scriptures that it was a created Angel who appear'd, and spoke to Moses in those Places. For the Law is call'd by the Author of the Epistle to the *Heb. ii. 2.* the Word spoken by Angels. Compare *Gal. iii. 19.* And Stephen expressly says, *Acts vii.* that an Angel appear'd to

Moses in a Bush, v. 30. And v. 35. that the Law was given by the Disposition of Angels. Moreover in that illustrious Appearance to Abraham in Mamre, Gen. xviii. 1, 2. tho' one is dignify'd by the Name of *Jehovah*, it is plain all the three were Angels; for the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* plainly says, that they were Angels, who were entertain'd by Abraham and Lot, Chap. xiii. v. 2.

11. I answer, When the Fathers generally assert that the Angel, who appear'd to Abraham and Moses, and to whom the Name *Jehovah* and divine Honours are attributed, was the Son of God, it admits two Senses, either (1.) That he was God, i. e. the Son of God signify'd by the Name of an Angel, because he took to himself a Body, a visible Shape, such as the Angels usually take; or (2.) That the Son of God was in an Angel, i. e. that it was an Angel who assum'd a Body, and that the Son of God was in that Angel by an especial Assistance of, and Presence with him. According to the former Hypothesis we thus answer: That the Son of God is call'd the Angel, the Angel of the Covenant, and is therefore in those Appearances said to be an Angel, because he acted, as they did, when they appear'd to Men; that it is false that he was a created Angel, who spoke to Moses in the Bush, and on Mount Sinai. Nor can that be evinc'd, because it is said by Stephen, and by the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that the Law of Moses was given by Angels, in the plural Number. For as much as nothing doth hinder, but that God might have been present in Sinai, altho' in token of his Majesty guarded with a Multitude of Angels; nay that the Fact was so is most certain from Deut. xxxiii. 2. and Psal. lxviii. 17. As for the three that turn'd in to Abraham, no more needs to be said for reconciling the Apostle's Words, than that two of them were created Angels, and the third the Son of God; thus Abraham acknowledges his divine Majesty, and therefore pleads with him, as the supreme Judge, to respite the Destruction of the Cities of *Pentapolis*. Thus

Andreas

Andreas Rivetus ¹ answers this Objection. Many of the Antients, *Jews* and *Christians*, have embrac'd the latter Hypothesis. *Trypho* the *Jew* in *Justin* ² contends that two Persons appear'd to *Moses* in the Bush, that the Angel was in the Flame of Fire, but that God in the Angel talked with *Moses*. *Justin* answers him that he can safely grant this, but afterwards endeavours to prove the other. *Trypho's* Opinion seems to be the receiv'd Opinion among the antient *Jews*. Thus *Stephen* plainly says, that an Angel appear'd to *Moses* in a Bush, *Acts* vii. 30. but that God spoke these Words to *Moses*, — *I am the God of thy Fathers*, v. 31, &c. Compare *Exod.* iii. v. 2. with v. 4, 5, 6. *Clemens Alexandr.* ³ says it was the Son of God who led the People of *Israel* in the Wilderness; and he also says in the same Place, that it was an Angel that led *Moses*, an Angel who represented the evangelical, the governing Power of the Word, and possessed the Dignity of the Lord. A little after he says, that the Word was an Angel, under the Old Testament, i. e. appear'd to Men by Angels. In this Sense he calls the Son afterwards, the Mystical Angel, because at that time he conceal'd his Majesty under that Appearance. Of the same Opinion were many of the *Post-Nicene* Fathers. Thus *Athanasius* says (*Oration* against the *Arians* 4.) concerning the Angel which appear'd to *Moses* in the Bush, “It was an Angel that appear'd, but God spoke in him.” Thus *Jerom*, (upon *Gal.* iii.) “Now in that he says [the Law was ordained by Angels,] he means that in all the Old Testament, where an Angel is said to appear, and afterwards God is, as it were, brought in speaking; the Angel indeed, whichever it is of the many ministring Angels, really appears; but the Mediator speaks in him, and says, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.*” Thus *Augustine* (against *Maximin.* *Lib.* 3. near the end) “I ask, who appear'd to *Moses*

¹ Comment. in *Hos.* cap. 12. v. 4, 5, 6.

² p. 282, 283.

³ p. 82, 83.

“ in the Fire, when the Bush was in a Flame? Tho’
 “ the Scripture declares that an Angel appear’d there;
 “ [*an Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a Flame of*
 “ *Fire in the Bush;*] yet who doubts but that God
 “ was in the Angel? Thus *Gregory* upon *Job*, (Pre-
 face, chap. 2.) “ The Angel said to have appear’d
 “ to *Moses* is sometimes called God, sometimes an An-
 “ gel: An Angel for this, that he ministred to God
 “ in speaking outwardly; God, for that presiding in
 “ him inwardly he gave him power to speak. When
 “ therefore the outward Speaker is directed by the in-
 “ ward, there is said to be an Angel in Ministration, and
 “ God in Inspiration.” *Fulgentius* also writes after the
 same manner against *Maximus*, &c. This Sense of the
 Antients seems to me confirm’d by *Exodus* xxiii. 20.
 where God, that is, the Son of God, according to all
 primitive Antiquity, speaking to *Moses*, promises that
 he will send his Angel before the People through the
 Wilderness, and that his Name should be in the midst
 of him. It was truly an Angel who went before the
Israelites to the promis’d Land, but then it was an An-
 gel, in whom God had plac’d his Name, with whom
 he was in an especial manner present. It is manifest
 from the Words of *Trypho* that the antient *Jews* ne-
 ver dreamt of the Novel Fancy of some modern Chri-
 stians, namely, that it was a mere Angel, who appear-
 ed to *Moses*, called himself the God of *Abraham*, and
 willingly admitted the divine Worship apply’d to him.
 No, it was too absurd and abominable. Who can
 think that the Angels acted their God, that he com-
 municated to them his incommunicable Name, or al-
 lowed them to represent him as that they might re-
 ceive all that the Creature can give? Well spoke the
 Learned ² *Camero*: “ --- The Advocates often represent
 “ their Clients; but it was never heard that an Em-
 “ bassador, propounding the Commands of his Prince,
 “ spoke otherwise than in the third Person, *My Master*

² Annotations upon the 2d chap. 2d v. of the Ep. to the Hebr.

“ says thus. Of this we have an illustrious Testimony in the Prophets, whose usual Form is [*saieth the Lord*]; nay, the Angels in the Visions profess that they are sent.” Hence even *Grotius*¹ in a certain Place confesses, that he, who publish’d the old Law in *Sinai*, was a singular Angel, guarded with other Angels, not a mere Angel, but united with the *Logos*.

12. Grant, you’ll say, that it was God, who under the old Testament spoke and appear’d to holy Men, by an Angel, or under the representation of an Angel, why after all do you conclude that it must be the Son of God, according to the Antients? I answer, From Apostolical Tradition. As God the Father made the World by his Son, so he reveal’d himself to the World by the same Son. Therefore, though the Son of God did not familiarly converse with Men, as incarnate, till the last times, yet from the beginning he presided over the Church, and communicated himself to holy Men under the old Testament, after a secret and hidden manner. Thus² *Clem. Alex.* --- *Formerly the Word instructed his People by Moses, then by the Prophets.* Thus³ *Origen*, --- *God has not, as awaked out of a deep Sleep, sent among us Jesus, for good reasons now at last incarnate, though always heaping Benefits upon Mankind: For nothing that is good has befallen Man without the presence of the divine Word upon the Souls of those, who were ever so little a time capable of receiving such operation of the divine Word.* *Tertullian*⁴ speaks more fully and plainly. — *The Son has always appear’d, has always work’d by the Authority and Will of the Father, because the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do, &c. so all things are made by the Son, and without him was nothing made. Neither do you only think that the Word was made by the Son, but also every thing else that has been done by God.* Then follows a⁵ *Pal-*

¹ *Grotius upon Galat. 3. 19.* ² p. 98. ³ *Origen contra Cels. p. 329. 119 165. Ed. Cantab.* ⁴ p. 509. ⁵ *Ib d.*

sage before cited, — *God could not otherwise converse with Man upon Earth than by that Word, which was afterwards to be made Flesh.*

13. There is another Objection in our Way, which some very learned Men boast of as unanswerable. They say that this Opinion of the Fathers is diametrically opposite to Scripture. For the Divine Author of the *Epistle to the Heb.* plainly says (*Ch. i. v. 1, 2.*) *that God who in former times hath in divers manners spoken to the Fathers, and Prophets, hath in these last Days spoken by his Son.* By the last Days is manifestly intended the Days of the Gospel; therefore before those Days the Son of God, or God by his Son had never spoken; otherwise the Author would not have rightly oppos'd the last time of the Gospel to the antient time of the old Law, if in both these times the Son of God, or God by the Son had appear'd and spoken.

14. *Ludovicus de Tena* proposes and answers this Objection in Words barbarous and uncouth (as the manner of the Schools is) but in Sense sound, solid and agreeable to what you have seen in the Antients, he makes the Contraposition to consist not in the thing it self, Whether the Son ever appear'd before, or not, but in the way and manner of his Appearance; which manner being so much beyond all the other manners in which he before appear'd, the Opposition is still good, and the Excellency of the Gospel above the Law, plain. ² *Justin Martyr* in his Apology (call'd in the common *Edit.* the first, but really the second) thus speaks concerning the Word, or Son of God: --- *The Word* was and is in all things, he foretold those things that were to come by the Prophets, and by himself, being made Man and teaching *these things*. -- Where he informs us that the Word, or Son of God, manifested himself under the old Testament to the Prophets, and by them to others; but that in the last Times he de-

¹ Upon the Difficulties of the Place *Heb. i.* ² p. 48, 49.

liver'd the heavenly Doctrine to us himself, having taken our Nature upon him; and that herein doth especially consist the Excellency of the Gospel above the Law. *Of the same Mind is Clem.¹ Alex.* --The Lord led his antient People indeed by *Moses*, but his new People by himself Face to Face. *And a little afterwards* ², -- To the old People there was an old Covenant; the Law, which carry'd Terror along with it, was their Rule, the Word was an Angel; but to the new People a new Covenant is given, the Word is begotten, Fear is turned into Love, and that mystical Angel Jesus is born. *Tertullian* says the same in a Place after-cited.

15. We see then that nothing solid is brought against the Fathers out of the holy Scriptures, let us enquire whether the Scriptures don't plainly favour their Sentiments. *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. x. 9. clearly teaches that the guardian Angel of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness (of whom it is said, *Exod. xxiii. 20, &c. Beware of him, hear his Words, provoke him not, for he will not spare thee, nor forgive thy Sins; for my Name is in him*) was the Son of God, who was afterwards, called Christ. *Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted, and were destroyed of Serpents.* These Words at least shew that Christ was with the People of *Israel* in the Wilderness, and that he was tempted by them. That Heretic *Socinus* excepts against this, and says *St. Paul* wrote, Let us not tempt Christ, as some of them tempted, but that he did not write, as some of them tempted Christ; and therefore that the Sentence may be made up of another Word, *viz.* God: But this is trifling. There are very many Examples in this elliptical Way in Scripture. Thus, *John viii. 56. Abraham desir'd to see my Day, and saw.* But the most opposite Example of this kind we have, *Deut. vi. 16. Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, as thou temptedst in the Place of Temptation.* Where the latter part

¹ p. 82.² p. 83.

of the Verse is manifestly referr'd to the [Lord thy God] expressed in the former without any repetition. Besides, we might ask in our turn, why it was not added [as some of them tempted God].¹ If that be the meaning of the Verse, which this *Heretic* gives, no Reason can be given for the Ellipsis; but if that be the meaning of it (and it certainly is) which we contend for, the Reason is plain: The Words wou'd have been much more surprizing and strange, if the Name of Christ had been repeated. Besides the Particle *ε* is here of great force, and shews that the Apostle is to be understood, as though Christ was tempted by the *Israelites* in the Wilderness. For to what purpose should he say [as also] when in the former member of the Sentence there was no mention of God, but of Christ only?² *Grotius* asham'd of this low Stuff of the *Socinians* casts about for something better. We must by all means read [neither let us tempt God] so says the most antient, the *Alexandrian* Manuscript. Is the *Alexandrian* Manuscript of Authority sufficient to set aside such a Consent as may be oppos'd to it? the antient Books us'd by the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Interpreters, the *Vulgate*, St. *Ambrose*, *Chrysostom*, and *Theophylact*? These all have [Christ] not [God]. Thus all the old Copies collated in the *Polyglott*, except that of *Lincoln*, which reads *Κύριον*, or Lord, another Scripture-Name for Christ. The great Man gives us another Reason for his Criticism, *Christ is the Name of a Man*, who was not in being at that Time. To this there is an easy Answer, that Christ is here put for the Son of God, who in the Fulness of time, after he had taken upon him humane Nature, was call'd Christ, by a known scriptural Figure, a Synecdoche of the whole, &c. After the same sophistical manner *Grotius* deals with another clear Testimony of the Son's Divinity; *Coloss.* i. v. 16. It is certain, say he, that all things were created by the Word, but what goes before, shews, that

¹ See *Camero* upon the Place.

² *Grotius* in locum.

Christ is here treated of, the Name of a Man: therefore *ἐκτίσθαι* would be better translated, *were set in order, received some new state or position*. But if those Words of the Apostle must not be understood of a Creation properly speaking, I should think the Scriptures inexplicable, and that nothing certain can be concluded from the most express Passages of them.

16. From these Premises it is manifest, that what the Fathers deliver'd concerning the appearances of the *Logos*, or Son of God to the Patriarchs and holy Men under the old Testament is not their vain Comments, but Apostolical Tradition. I will add (and it is well worthy the Reader's Observation) that either the Apostles did not first teach this Doctrine, but receiv'd it from the *Jewish* Traditions; or that what the Apostles were taught concerning this matter by the holy Ghost did perfectly accord with that Tradition. *Philo Judæus*¹ says with *St. Paul*, that the Angel who presided over the *Israelites* in the Wilderness was the Word, the first begotten of the Father, by whom he governs all things. The Place is very express in his Book of *Agriculture*; —“ For God, as a Pastor or King, governs
 “ by certain Law and Rule the Earth, the Water, the
 “ Air, the Fire, all Places and Animals that are in them,
 “ Moral and Divine; the Nature of the Heavens, the
 “ Periods of the Sun and Moon, the Revolutions, and
 “ harmonious Motions of the other Stars, having set
 “ over them his true Word, his first begotten Son,
 “ to take upon him, as the Viceroy of the great King,
 “ the care of his sacred Flock: And it is said some-
 “ where, *Behold, I am, and I will send my Angel before*
 “ *thy Face to keep thee in the Way.*” This Opinion is also the same with that of the ancient Christians concerning the Appearances to *Adam* after the Fall, to *Moses* in the Bush, and to *Abraham*. So in his Book of *Dreams*² he says, “ The holy *Logos* enjoins to some
 “ what they are to do, as a King; others acquaint-

¹ p. 132. Ed. Parif. 1552.

² p. 403, 404.

“ ed with him he profitably instructs as their Master ;
 “ some as a Councillor he leads into the best advice ;
 “ others, who of themselves know not what is good
 “ for them, he greatly assists. To some as a Friend he
 “ speaks gently, by persuasion brings them into know-
 “ ledge of great Secrets, such as the Profane are not ad-
 “ mitted to. And sometimes as he spoke to *Adam*, he
 “ asks, where art thou ? — When he comes into an
 “ Assembly of his Friends, he never begins to speak
 “ before he has called them, before he has spoke to
 “ them all by Name, to secure their Attention in order
 “ to the perpetual remembrance of his *oracular Words*.
 “ Thus in another Place it is said, *be silent and hear*.
 “ After this manner he called *Moses* out of the Bush.
 “ As soon as he saw, says the Place, that he came nearer
 “ to see the thing, God called him out of the Bush,
 “ saying *Moses, Moses*; who answer’d, What is it ?
 “ So *Abraham, &c.*” The same *Philo* ² in the same
 Book thought the Lord, who rain’d Fire and Brimstone
 upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, to be the same Word, as do
 the Ecclesiastical Fathers. For *after* he had cited those
 Words of *Genesis*, *the Sun was risen upon the Earth when*
Lot entred into Zoar, and the Lord rained Brimstone and
Fire upon Sodom and Gomorrhah, he immediately adds,
 “ For the Word of God, when he visits the Earth,
 “ assists those that are virtuous, or inclined to be so,
 “ in affording them all Refuge and Safety ; but to
 “ those who oppose him he sends inevitable Ruin and
 “ Destruction.”

17. *Grotius* objects, that *Philo* calls created Angels
λέγοι, or Words, because they in their Capacities
 are Messengers and Interpreters of the divine Will ;
 but that does not signify much, for though it be ve-
 ry true, yet in the Place alledged, and many others,
 which I might easily add to them, it is manifest, that
 a certain singular W O R D, so call’d by Way of Emi-
 nence, who is the first begotten Son of God, and by

consequence superior to Angels and the whole World, is denoted. But if *Philo* does in some Places speak less honourably of the Word of God, his first begotten Son, he may well be excus'd, as being in an Age, in which the Mystery of the Trinity was not fully reveal'd to the *Jews*. Nay, we should rather wonder that in such Darkness he should see so clear. In *one Place*, he ¹ says, that this Word of God is above the whole World, the most antient, the most noble of all Creatures. In *another* ² Place he calls him the Word of God, which made the World. And a little after, the invisible ³ spiritual, divine Word, the Word of God, the super-cælestial Star, the Fountain of the sensible Stars. And ⁴ in another Place he calls him not only the most antient, the most holy Word, but also the eternal Image.

18. That no Man may suspect that *Philo* platonizes here (as some not well read in the *Jewish* Literature have thought, whereas the contrary is rather true, that *Plato* was oblig'd to the *Jews*, *Philo's* Countrymen, for his Notions of the Word) the *Jewish* Author of the Book intituled, *the Wisdom of Solomon* (not *Philo*, as some have vainly dreamt, but a much antienter Person, as is evident) philosophizes after the same manner concerning the Word. Speaking of the Angel, who smote the first born, *Ch. xviii. 15*, he says, *Thy Almighty Word came down a fierce Warriour from the Heavens, from the regal Thrones into the midst of a Land of Destruction.* Where it is manifest he speaks of the Word impersoned. It is also as clear, that he speaks of a divine Person, not some ministring Angel, as *Grotius* would have it; because he calls this Word Almighty, and ascribes to him a regal Throne in Heaven. To which add, *v. 16. he stood, and fill'd all with Death, he touch'd the Heavens, and walked upon the Earth.* In these Words are signify'd his Power, and Greatness, who possesses all things, and shews forth

¹ p. 63.² p. 3.³ p. 4.⁴ p. 222. 226.

his Might in Heaven and Earth. Herein perhaps (for I dare not affirm it) this Author is mistaken when he makes the *destroying* Angel the same with the Word: For the most antient Interpreters have thought him a mere Angel. Be that as it will, it is clear that this antient and venerable Writer thought that the very Word did sometimes descend from his regal Throne in Heaven in the Likeness of an Angel, was sent by the Father, and is therefore call'd the Angel in Scripture. *Masius* cites a very old *Rabbinical* Book, the *Tanchumah*, and *Rabb. Gerundensis* to this purpose. See the Words at large in his Commentary upon *Joshua*, Ch. v. v. 13, 14.

19. It is especially to be observed upon this Head, (and learned Men have long since observed it) that the *Chaldee* Paraphrases, almost as often as mention is made in Scripture of God speaking with us, assisting us, or conversing among us, have rendered the Name of [God] by the [Word] signifying that in those Places the Scripture treated of the Son of God, who is called *The Word*, whose Property it is to transact with us, *Gen. iii. 8. They heard the Voice of the Lord God.* The Targum of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* have it --- *the Voice of the Word of the Lord God.* v. 9. *God called Adam.* The *Jerusalem* Targum --- *the Word of the Lord* --- understanding it as before we have said *Philo* does. *Gen. xxi. 20. God was with him.* *Onkelos, the Word of the Lord.* V. 22. *God is with thee, -- Onkelos, the Word of God.* *Osea i. 7. And I will preserve them by Jehovah their God.* *Jonathan's Targum, And I will keep them by the Word of the Lord their God.* This Place the antient Christian Writers generally expounded of Salvation by Christ. To take off the force of these, and the like innumerable Passages in the *Targums*, some Persons observe that the Word מִימְרָא or מִימֵר, which we translate *The Word*, is sometimes no more than *avris ipse, the, or the very*; but this is trifling. For grant

* See *Jacobus Capellus* upon *John i. 1. concerning the Force of this Expression.*

the Observation be sometimes true, I deny it to be so in the Case before us. Not to say that *Philo*, and the Author of the *Book of Wisdom*, both antient *Jews*, own'd, (as has been prov'd) a certain Word of God the Father, a Person, or Subsistence, really distinct from God the Father, who was wont to descend to, and converse with Men; there are in the *Chaldee Paraphrases* some Places, that will not bear this Interpretation, *Gen. xx. 3.* The Hebrew Text is, *And God came to Abimelech.* *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* read, *And the Word came from the Face of God to Abimelech*; which can never be understood, And the God, very God, or God himself came from the Face of God. *Psalms cx. v. 1.* *Jonathan's Targum*, as *Petrus Galatinus*,¹ and that excellent Person *Paulus*² *Fagius* inform us (for the *Targum* upon the *Psalms* is either lost, or was never printed) thus paraphrases, *The Lord said to his Word, sit thou on my right Hand*; which according to these Critics, must be pleasantly rendered, *The Lord said to himself, sit thou* — But no more of this Stuff.

20. It is now clear from the Premises, with how great Authority the antient Doctors of the Church affirmed him to be the Son of God, who formerly appeared to holy Men under the Old Testament, by the glorious Name *Jehovah*, and received from them divine Honours. The careful Reader will observe that I have proved the Consubstantiality of the Son, at the same time that I only intended to prove his Pre-existence before the Blessed Virgin. For from the Premises it is very clear, that the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers have unanimously taught, and that by the Suffrage of the New Testament and the old *Jewish* Doctors, that he, who appeared to *Moses* in the burning Bush, and in Mount *Sinai*, and who talked with him, and who shewed himself to *Abraham*, &c. was the Word, or Son. But it is certain that he who appeared, is called *Jehovah*, *He who is*, the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, &c. which Titles are proper to God only,

¹ Lib. 3. Chap. 28.

² upon Deuter. Chap. 5.

not suited to any Creature. This is the very Argument the Fathers generally use to prove that the Son of God, not any mere created Angel, appeared at those times ; because he who appear'd was called *Jehovah*, and had divine Honours paid him ; things incommunicable to a Creature, and proper to God alone ; whence it follows, they all believed the Son true God. But I leave this Matter to its proper Place, the second Section, and proceed to the remaining part of this Thesis.



C H A P. II.

*The Second Part of this Thesis is confirmed,
That he pre-existed before the World and
made it.*

THE other Part of this Thesis is design'd to shew that the Antients thought the Son was begotten of the Father before the Foundation of the World, and that all things were made by him. There is no necessity of dwelling upon this Head. In the following Sections much more excellent things will be alledged of the Son. I will therefore content my self here with some few Testimonies in the Apostolical Age, or the next after it, and and that because, in these times especially, our modern *Photinians* impudently boast that their Opinion prevailed in the Church of *Christ*.

2. We have an Epistle under the Name of *St. Barnabas*, first printed in our own Age. Our learned Dr. *Hammond*, the great *Isaac Vossius*, and others, have thought the Apostle *Barnabas* the Author of it, upon this account chiefly, because *Clemens Alexandr. Origen*, and other Antients, cite it under his Name. Nor have the Patrons of the contrary Opinion any thing to oppose to them, except that the Author
of

of the Epistle seems to interpret some Passages of the Old Testament too mystically. But Dr. *Hammond*, in his *Dissert.* 1. against *Blondel*, gives a probable Reason of this, where, after he has in the preceding Chapter given the Character of the *Gnostics*, he says: "This Character gives great Light to the Epistle of the Apostle *Barnabas*, which (being a prolix and complicated Riddle) would otherwise have puzzled the Readers. Those Disciples of *Simon*, with their boasted Knowledge, *i. e.* their Faculty of mystically interpreting the Holy Scripture accommodated many Mysteries of the old Testament to their impure Purposes. *Barnabas* takes Occasion from this, almost throughout his whole Epistle, to oppose his own Mystical and Cabalistic Interpretations of the old Testament to the Doctrines of the *Gnostics*." The Doctor also shews in what follows, how excellently that whole Epistle tends to confute the Doctrine of these Heretics. Be this as it will, the Testimonies of the Antients before spoken of, the Phrases us'd by him, and proper to the Apostolical Age, the Simplicity of the Style, and the Heresies he opposes, such only as sprung up under the Apostles, certainly shew him to be a very antient Author. Not far from the beginning of his Epistle, according to the old *Latin* Version (for we have not the *Greek* in that Part)

* Against this Epistle Dr. *Whitby* opposes what is said by *Eusebius*, p. 78. *Eccl. Hist.* that it was *ev v&os*, and *Cotelerius*'s Judgment upon it, as prefixt to the Epistle. But unfortunately it happens that our Author does not use it as the Epistle of an Apostle, but of a very antient Author. (2dly.) *Ev v&os* in *Eusebius* does not signify *spurious*, but as not only *Valesius*, but he himself has interpreted it, *dubious*, of the same Credit with the *Apocalypse*, an approv'd Author. (See this very Page, and Page 83.) (3dly.) *Cotelerius* is so far from rejecting it as the Writing of a very antient and good Author, that he greatly magnifies it, says it is a moot Point, whether it belongs to the Apostle *Barnabas*, or not; but whether it does or not, declares it by the Suffrages of the Antients, always to have been of great Authority, and never by any one charg'd with Heresy.

this

this Author speaks thus concerning our Lord. ¹ *And for this end the Lord suffered for our Souls, though he is the Lord of the whole World, to whom God, before the Constitution of the World, said, Let us make Man after our Image, and Similitude.* And a little after he calls the *Sun, the Work of the Hands of the Son of God.* There is in the same Chapter a famous Passage, ² *Then he discovered himself to be the Son of God: For if he had not come in the Flesh, how should we who saw him, have been saved, who looking upon the corruptible Sun, the Work of his Hands, are not able to bear up against its Rays?* Lastly, Chap. 9. he has these Words concerning our Saviour: ³ *Herein you have the Glory of Jesus, that all things are in Him, and for Him.*

3. *Hermas*, or the Author of the *Pastor*, is of the same Opinion. Of the Antiquity of this Author *Grotius* upon *St. Mark* (Chap. 2. v. 8.) tells you, *Who-soever the Author is, he is very antient, as appears by Irenæus and Clement, who use his Words; and indeed it is manifest that he was contemporary with Clemens Romanus.* Thus the old Woman speaks to him in the second Vision near the End: ⁴ *Thou shalt write two Copies, and send one to Clement, and another to Grapte. Now Clement will send it into foreign Cities.* Altho' *Blondel* rages, like a mad Man, against this Author and his Writings, calls them the Dreams of a Prophet in Masquerade, and him an impure Dogmatizer, the Fountain of the *Novatians* and *Pelagians*, the Gulph of *Monastical* Superstitions (because he makes Bishops a Superior Order to Presbyters, p. 80. and p. 116. a thing he could never bear) yet the Judgment of Antiquity, much to be preferred before the Censure of the learned *Blondel*, had another Opinion of both. *The Pastor* is cited by *Irenæus* under the Name of Scripture. *Well* says the Scripture then, *Believe first of all, that there is one*

¹ Cotelierius's *Apostolical Fathers*, Vol. 1. p. 60, 61. Ed. Antwerp. 1698. the old Translation, the Original is lost. ² p. 16.

³ p. 40. ⁴ p. 78.

God, who appointed, made and perfected all Things of nothing. ¹ This is *Eusebius's* Observation, and the Place is found *verbatim* in Book 2. *Mand.* 1. of ² *Hermas*, as now extant. ³ *Bellarmino's* Note is much to the Purpose in this Case, *viz.* That *Irenaus* would not call that Scripture which was written by an Author of his own Age, not an Apostle, or one who had heard them. ⁴ *Clem. Alex.* cites him often, and expressly owns a Power divinely speaking to *Hermas* by Revelation. *Tertullian*, whilst a Catholic, in Answer to a Passage out of *Hermas* alledg'd for a Custom he did not like, does not reject the Authority, but, as is usual, in considering other Scriptures endeavours ⁵ to evade it by a qualifying Interpretation. And in ⁶ another Place, after he fell into *Montanism*, tho' angry at the *Pastor* by reason of his allowing a second Repentance to Fornicators and Adulterers, (as indeed the whole Scripture does) calling him the Pastor of Adulterers, and denying his Canonical Authority, he rejects him in an honourable manner, and gives him place next to the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, written as he suppos'd by *Barnabas*. According to this Passage another of the same Book should be interpreted, where ⁷ *Tertullian* calls this Piece false and adulterate, that is, as he himself afterwards says, not Canonical. ⁸ *Origen* also cites this Book very often, and in a certain place calls it, not only a useful Writing, but divinely inspir'd. *Eusebius* cites it from *Irenaus*. ⁹ *Athanasius* uses it also, and calls it a very useful Book; a Judgment of that great Man's, which every unprejudic'd Reader will approve. *Rufinus* ¹⁰ gives it the same Place in the New Testament, as to the Books of *Tobit*, &c. under the Old. So does *Jerome* in his *Prolog.* *Galeat.* and in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, he says, "The Pastor is publickly read in some Churches of Greece, truly an useful Book, and

¹ 140. Eccl. Hist. ² De Scriptor. Eccles. de Auctore Libri, qui Pastor inscribitur. ³ Cotelier. Apost. Fathers, p. 85. ⁴ p. 261. Strom. 1. Ed. Lugduni Batav. 1616. ⁵ Tertul. p. 134. de Oratione. ⁶ p. 582. de Pudicitia. ⁷ p. 563. ⁸ In Rom. c. 16. ⁹ p. 49. Tom. 1. ¹⁰ In Symbol. c. 37.

“ much cited by antient Authors.” Much more may be read concerning this matter in the Defence of St. *Ignatius* by the right reverend and very learned *Prelate Bishop Pearson* ¹.

4. In order to establish the antient Credit of this Author, which with me is a matter of some Importance, I will briefly consider the Objections made against him by the Moderns, especially the Reformed. (1.) They say he teaches Doctrines which are not Apostolical. Thus *Sculetus*, and after him *Rivet*: “ In the *third Vision* ² the “ old Woman preaches Purgatory.” But these great Men are in this greatly mistaken. When *Hermas* enquires, whether those, who in that Vision are cast out of the Tower into the Fire, shall ever have the Grace of Repentance, or be able to obtain a Place again in the Tower? The old Woman answers: *They are capable of Repentance, not of a Place in this Tower; but they shall be put in a much lower Place, after they have been afflicted, and filled up the Days of their Sins. And for this Reason shall be taken out of the Fire, because they have considered the good Word. Then shall be freed from their Punishments, if they seriously think upon their evil Works; but if they do not, they shall not be saved for the Hardness of their Heart.*

³ *Similitude 6.* near the End you have a parallel Place: “ For an angry Man takes Pleasure in satisfying his own “ Temper; so an Adulterer, a Drunkard, a Backbiter, a “ Lyar, a covetous Man, and a Deceiver, and the like, are “ gratify’d in indulging their Disease. All these Sweets “ and Pleasures are hurtful to the Servants of God; “ therefore for these they are tormented and punished. “ There are also Pleasures which bring Salvation. Ma- “ ny take Pleasure in Works of Goodness, being drawn “ to them by the Satisfaction they give. This Pleasure “ then is profitable to the Servants of God, and gives “ Life to them. But those before-mentioned are hurt- “ ful, and end in Torment and Pains. Whosoever there- “ fore shall abide in them, and not repent, shall purchase

¹ *Pars prior Vind. Ignat.* ² p. 80. *Patr. Apostol.* ³ p. 107.

“ to themselves Death.” Where it is most plain, that no Regard is had to a Papal Purgatory (a Monkish Figment unknown to the three first Centuries) but to those purging Punishments and Afflictions, which God of his Mercy sends upon Sinners in this World for their Amendment. Thus the *Pastor* fully explains himself in the *same sixth Similitude* ¹ a little before the former Passage : There he says that he saw Cattle, which a certain Shepherd drove into a Precipice so full of Thorns and Briars, that they could not get out ; but being intangled there fed upon the Briars and Thorns, and underwent great Torments from his Guidance ; for he drave them, and neither gave them time or place for Rest. Nothing can be clearer, unless what you find in the *third Vision*, which plainly overthrows the Doctrine of ² Purgatory.

“ When therefore I saw them thus beaten and afflicted,
 “ I was sorry for them, because they were greatly tormented and had no respite. I said then to the Shepherd that was with me, Pray, Sir, who is this implacable severe Shepherd, who has no Mercy towards these Cattle ? This Shepherd, says he, is a Messenger of Vengeance to the Just. To him are delivered those who have gone astray from God, and served the Lusts and Pleasures of this World. He punishes them with several severe Punishments as they have respectively deserved. I would know, Sir, says I, what sort of Punishments these are ? Observe, says he, these are the several Punishments and Torments, which Men daily endure in their Lives. Some have Losses, others Want, others divers Diseases ; some the Inconstancy [of Friends], others Injuries from unworthy Men, and many other Exercises and Inconveniences. When then they have suffered all this Affliction and Trouble, they are delivered over to me for good Admonition, they are strengthened in the Faith of the Lord, and the remainder of their Days serve him with a pure Mind. And when they have begun

¹ p. 106.² v. 106, 107.

“ to repent, the wicked Actions in which they have
 “ been employed, arise up into their Thoughts. Then
 “ they give Glory to God, saying that he is a just Judge,
 “ and that they have deservedly suffered all these things
 “ according to their Deeds. But for the future they
 “ serve God with a pure Heart, and have success in all
 “ their Affairs, receiving from God whatever they de-
 “ sire. Then they give Thanks that they have been
 “ delivered over to me, and now suffer no Trouble,
 “ &c’ *Those then ¹ who are about to repent, if they
 shall repent, shall be strong in the Faith; if they repent now
 whilst the Tower is building. For if the Tower be finished,
 there is no Place for any one, but he shall be reprobate. He
 only shall have it, who is now placed in the Tower. Ano-
 ther Objection is, that he asserts Free-will: but this
 is frivolous. Free-will acting with, and under Grace he
 asserts, and so do the Scriptures; so do the Catholic
 Doctors of the first Ages. That is a greater Reflection,
 which the Papal as well as the Reformed Divines cast
 upon him, namely, that he allows only one Repentance
 to Persons who have fallen into grievous Sins, after the
 Grace received in Baptism. The Words alleged are
 these: ² I say unto thee, if a Man shall sin after that
 great and holy Calling, he hath one Repentance; but if he
 shall sin often, and repent, it shall not profit, he shall hardly
 live unto God. The Pastor seems to speak here of those
 who having fallen after the regenerating Grace receiv’d,
 and being restored by Repentance, every now and then,
 often relapse, and repent. He justly condemns this de-
 sultory Repentance. He despairs not of their Salvation,
 but asserts that their Case is difficult. So before in the
 same Chapter, he opposes the sinning often to the one
 Repentance. For shewing how a Man ought to behave
 himself towards his Wife, whom he has justly divorced,
 if she repent, and desire to be received, he says, he
 ought to receive the Sinner that repents, but not often;
 for the Servants of God have but one Repentance.*

Again, if you interpret *subinde* [afterwards] then the *Pastor* is to be understood of Penance to be performed before the Church, and Absolution consequent upon it, which the severer Discipline of that Age did never suffer to be repeated in many Places, altho' they did not exclude those, who had frequently lapsed, from the Hope of obtaining Pardon at God's hand. Thus *Acecius* explains the *Novatian* Opinion, &c. 'Tho' we ought not to admit those to the Communion of the holy Mysteries, who after Baptism have fallen into that Sin which the Scriptures call a Sin unto Death, yet ought we to exhort them to Repentance, and to expect the Remission of Sin, not from the Priests, but from God, who has Power and Authority to forgive Sins. Indeed, explain *Hermas* as you will, this is certain, that he excludes not the lapsed from the Hope of living with God: He only says, as I before noted, that their Case is difficult. The Epistle to the *Hebrews* was a long time before it was received by the Church of *Rome*, upon account of a like Passage. What *Grotius* has noted upon chap. vi. v. 4. &c. of that Epistle is worthy Observation. So much by way of Digression in Defence of *Hermas*; let us now see what this Author says against the *Arians*.

5. The Testimony of this venerable Apostolical Writer concerning the Pre-existence of the Son is very flagrant. Thus he speaks in the ninth Similitude, ² *The Son of God is more antient than any Creature, insomuch that he was of Counsel to his Father in making the Creatures.* The Author of the *Irenicum* acknowledges this Place, and is of our Opinion about the Antiquity and Authority of the Writer of it. Nevertheless in order to defend his absurd Notion, that *Justin Martyr* first taught the Pre-existence of the Son before the World, and of the Creation of the World by him, and learnt it from *Plato*; he thus endeavours to elude it: "It is altogether uncertain whether he means Christ by the Son of God, when he says, in his ninth Simil. That the Son is

² Socrates, p. 32.

² p. Apost. Patr. 115.

² p. 21. *Irenic*,

“ more antient than any Creature.” Uncertain altogether ! Then surely Sceptics are the wisest Men, and there is no Certainty in humane Affairs, Nay, says this *anonymous*¹ Author, the Holy Spirit is called by *Hermas* in the *fifth Simil.*² and other Places, the *Son of God*. But here the Heretic is utterly mistaken, and clearly betrays his own Ignorance of that primitive Antiquity and Faith, which he boasts he has discovered more plain than ever it was before. *Hermas* no where calls the Holy Ghost, the third Person of the Divinity, the Son of God. The Words this Author refers to are, *The Son of God is a Holy Spirit*, not *The Holy Ghost is the Son of God*; as is manifest to any one who consults the Place: For there *Hermas* is speaking of nothing else but the Son of God, who was made a Servant for our Salvation, and took upon him that Body in which he convers'd with Men as a Servant. But how is the Son of God called by *Hermas* Holy Spirit ? In respect of his Divinity, as he was a most Holy Spirit, existing from his Father a most Holy Spirit; in which Sense the Title of Holy Spirit may be given to every Person of the Trinity. The third Person of the Divinity is called Holy Spirit properly, not with respect to his Nature, (for so the *Father* and *Son* have a right to *this Title*³) but upon account of his ineffable Spiration from the Father by the Son. The antient Writers have not always exactly observed the Distinction betwixt the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Ghost by Spiration (as the great *Grotius* has truly said in his Notes upon *Mark* ii. 8.) : These are his Words, “ The Divine Nature in Christ “ is called Spirit, not only as being incorporeal, in which “ sense that Name belongs to the Father; but also because the Word *generare*, or *to beget*, used in distinguishing the *Logos* and *Holy Spirit*, and *ἀπαραίτητον*, “ or *to dart forth as a Ray of Light*, used by the *Greeks* “ sometimes, is by them also rendered in a looser term

¹ p. 13. ² p. 105. S. 5. ³ Greg. Nyssen. Orat. 1. contra Eupora p. 57. Ed. Paris. 1615.

“ [*spirare*] to breathe, denoting any Emanation whatsoever, or Emission, as *Tertullian* speaks: For *Tertullian* has affirmed against *Praxeas*, that the Son as well “ proceeds as is derived.” See the Holy Scriptures, *Mark* ii. 8. *Rom.* i. 3, 4. *1 Tim.* iii. 16. *Heb.* ix. 14. *1 Pet.* iii. 18, 19, 20. *St. John* vi. v. 63. compared with v. 56. But however this be, it is very certain that the Son of God, the second Person in the Deity, is in many Places of the Fathers, called *Spirit*, *Spirit of God*, *Holy Spirit*. If any one is so much a stranger to this way of speaking in the Fathers, that he knows not this, *Grotius*, in the Places before-mentioned, will give him abundant Satisfaction, and tell him likewise that *Hermas* was the Patron of it. To *Grotius*’s Authorities from the most antient Fathers I will add two, the Author of the Epistle commonly said to be *Barnabas*’s, and *Ignatius*. The former in the seventh Chapter speaks thus of Christ: ¹ *He was about to offer the Vehicle of the Spirit a Sacrifice for our Sins*. Here the humane Nature of Christ is called the Vessel or Vehicle of the *Spirit*, viz. of the Divinity, as the same Author afterwards expounds it. Hence (by the bye) we may understand *Heb.* ix. v. 14. where it is said, that Christ offer’d himself to God without blemish *by the eternal Spirit*; i. e. the eternal Divinity of the Son offered to God upon the Altar of the Cross the humane Nature personally (as we speak) united to himself ². *Ignatius* thus inscribes his Epistle; *To the Smyrneans*, ³ *much Greeting, in the immaculate Spirit, the Word of God*; where the *Word*, or *Son* of God, is plainly called *immaculate*, or *Holy Spirit*.

6. To conclude this clear Point: Whosoever is affected by the Words of this anonymous Author, may easily free himself from the Scruple, by consulting *Hermas* in the Place cited. About the *Beginning of this Simil.* ⁴ the Pa-

¹ Apost. Patr. p. 21. c. 7.

² An Interpretation never taken notice of by Dr. Clarke, though he uses the Text often, and in one Place confesses the Ambiguity of the Word *Spirit*, p. 228. Scrip. Doctr.

³ Vol. 2. Apost. Patr. p. 34.

⁴ The Similitude begins p. 111.

flor had represented to *Hermas* a very large Field encompassed with twelve Mountains, in the middle of it a large old Rock higher than the Mountains, in which there seemed to be lately hewn a new Gate brighter than the Sun. After the Pastor had finished his *Simil.* *Hermas* asks for an Interpretation of it; and first of the Rock and the Gate. The Pastor tells him they were the Son of God. *Hermas* then asks, why the Rock is old, and the Gate new? To which the Pastor answers, That the Son of God is older than every Creature, &c. that the Gate is therefore new, because he appeared in the last Days, that they who would obtain Salvation, might enter into the Kingdom of Heaven through him. Then, for an Illustration of the *Simil.* of the Gate, he compares it to a walled City with one Gate; and adds, "As there is
 " no Entrance into that City but by that one Gate,
 " so there is no Entrance into the Kingdom of God,
 " but by the Name of his Son, who is most dear to
 " him." And a little after he again speaks to the same purpose: "Good God! that a Man should not see
 " in so clear a Light! What Christian is ignorant who
 " this Son is, that is most dear to his Father, who appeared in the last Days, who is the Gate, by which
 " alone we Sinners have access to the Father, and an Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven." But besides these there are many other things in this *Simil.* tending to evince who this Son of God is. For the Pastor shews a Tower, which is the Church, built upon the Rock; he speaks of the several Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit (adumbrated in the *Simil.* by Virgins); he says, *They that have believed God by his Son, have put on this Spirit*; plainly distinguishing the Son from the Spirit. Then he commemorates the Apostles and Doctors (represented by Stones) who have preached the coming of the Son of God. Then he speaks of the Gentiles (signified by Mountains) converted to the Faith of the Son of God; all Nations have heard and believed, and are called only in the Name of the Son of God. Who does not see that all these things belong to the Son of God,

God, *i. e.* to Christ? What pious Man does not detest the incredible Impudence of this anonymous Scribbler? So much for *Hermas*.

7. *Ignatius*, who was made Bishop of *Antioch* by the Apostles, shall come next. His seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius*, first published in *Latin* from two *English* Manuscripts by Primate *Usher*, afterwards in *Greek* (except the Epistle to the *Romans*) from the *Medicean* Copy, by the very learned *Isaac Vossius*, have been sufficiently defended against *Blondel* by Dr. *Hammond* and *Vossius*, and against *Daille* by the Bishop of *Chester*. All impartial Persons now conclude them genuine, notwithstanding the *Efforts* of the *Observer* ¹ upon *Pearson*, who has endeavoured to rally *Daille*'s broken and defeated Forces. This *Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, speaking of Christ, says, ² *Who before Ages was with the Father, and in the End appeared*. But more of *Ignatius* hereafter.

8. *Justin* the Philosopher liv'd, wrote, and suffered Martyrdom in the Age after the Apostles. This Period, the first Succession of the Apostles, as the excellent *Valesius* ³ has rightly observed, is continued to the Times of *Marcus Antoninus*. For in his Reign *Polycarp*, the Disciple of St. *John*, now above a hundred Years old, suffered Martyrdom, according to the *Roman* Martyrology, upon *Jan. 26. A.D. 167*. But *Justin* wrote both his *Apologies* to *Antoninus Pius*, who died in the Year 161. and in his Reign (as *Valesius* ⁴ contends) bled for the Christian Religion. All consent that he was a Martyr for the Faith before 167. Hence *Justin* calls himself a Disciple of the Apostles. Now this very antient Father, this glorious Martyr, every where in his Writings freely professed, and strenuously defended the Son's Pre-existence before the World, and his Creation of it, as the common and received Doctrine of the Church, against *Jews* and *Gentiles*. I'll only produce two Pla-

¹ Published at Rhoan in Normandy, 1674.
Apost. p. 1856.

² Annot. in Euseb. p. 39.

³ Vol. 2. Patr.
⁴ Id. p. 76, 77.

ces. In his *Apology*, commonly called the *first*, after he has spoke of the *Father*, he adds of the *Son*: *His Son, he who alone is properly called the Son, the Word, was with the Father before his Works, and begotten of him; for in the Beginning he made, and set in order all things by him, &c.* In his *Dialogue with Trypho*: *But this Offspring, which really proceeded from the Father, was with the Father, before all things were made, and to him the Father spoke, Let us make Man, &c.*

9. *Tatian*, the Disciple of *Justin*, explaining the common Notion of the Christians in his Days, concerning the Son of God, says, *We know him the Principle of the World.* And a little after, *That heavenly Word, a Spirit begotten of his Father, and Reason of his rational Power, made Man, the Image of Immortality, in Imitation of the Father, who begot him.* And again, *The Word made the Angels before the Formation of Man.*

10. *Athenagoras*, the Athenian, next to *Justin*, a very learned Philosopher, and a great Ornament of the Christian Profession, in his Book written to *M. Aurelius Antoninus* and his Collegue, giving an Account of the Christian Faith in the Trinity, first speaks of God the Father, and then subjoins, *By whom all things were made by or through his Word, set in order and established.* A little after he calls the Son, *The First-begotten of the Father, that he might be the Pattern and Life, the Idea and Energy of all things.*

11. Lastly, *Irenaeus* (in his Youth a diligent Hearer of *Polycarp*, and therefore justly placed by *Eusebius* in the first Succession of the Apostles) thus speaks of the Word, or Son of God: *“ But nothing which is made, and “ in Subjection, shall be compared with the Word of “ God, by whom all things were made, who is our Lord “ Jesus Christ: For whether they are Angels or Arch- “ angels, or Thrones or Dominions, St. John has told*

¹ p. 44. ² p. 285. ³ Append. Just. Mart. p. 145. ⁴ p. 146.
⁵ Append. Just. Mart. p. 10. — *ibid.* ⁶ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 5.
 c. 20. p. 152. ⁷ Iren. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 250.

“ us, they were all appointed and made by him, who
 “ is God over all, by his Word. For, when he had
 “ said of the Word of God, that he was in the Father,
 “ he added, *All things were made by him, and without*
 “ *him was not any thing made.*” Again; “ For the
 “ Son, that is, the Word of God, prædisposed these
 “ things from the Beginning, (the Father stood not in
 “ need even of Angels) that he might make the World,
 “ and form Man, for whom it was made.”

Those that know the Fathers know very well, that the other Fathers of the first three Centuries are of the same Mind as the afore-cited: Those that are not acquainted with them, I hope, will take my word for it, till I have the Opportunity, in the following *Sections*, of laying before them their Testimonies concerning this matter, much more ample than any yet produced. Thus much for the Pre-existence.

Dr. GRABE's Annotations upon Barnabas.

AGAINST this Notion of the Pre-existence, so solidly confirmed by Bishop Bull, Luke Mellier, Minister of the Word of God (or rather some Person under that fictitious Name) has wrote a Book in 8vo, printed at London, and intituled, *The Faith of the first Christians demonstrated from Barnabas, &c.* in Opposition to Dr. G. Bull's Defence of the *Nicene Creed*. It shall be my Business (and I hope agreeable to the Reader) to shew how frivolous his evasive Answers are.

2. The first thing I shall take notice of, is his Reflections upon our Author for his Citation of *Barnabas*. S. 2. chap. 2. Mellier says, (1.) That *Barnabas* there speaks mystically, with respect to the new Creation made by Jesus Christ in the last Times. (2.) That he does not attribute those Words to God talking with the Son, but to the Scripture prophesying of Christ. (3.) Granting these Words to be represented as spoken to the

† Lib. 4. cap. 17.

Son by the Father, they are to be understood in a prophetic Sense, as relating to the Christ, who was to be, not to the Son as really existing. He supports his first Assertion thus: Chap. 6. ¹ *The Words are used of the new Creation only; therefore they must also be mystically understood,* chap. 5. ² Supposing, but not granting this to be the Case, where is the Consequence? Could not *Barnabas* use the same Passage at one time in a literal, and at another time in a mystical Sense? Nay, did he not act thus in the Place before us? He said that the Words, *Let us make Man, &c.* were spoken to the Son the Day before the constituting the World. But those Words respect the old, not the new Creation; therefore *Barnabas* is so to be understood. But admit that *Barnabas* took them in a mystical Sense, must not that Sense be built upon the literal? How could *Barnabas* suppose them to relate to the Son in the new Creation, if he had not found them spoken to the same Son by the Father in the old?

3. He says these Words were not spoken by the Father, but the Scripture. So *Barnabas* has it ³, *The Scripture saith, Wo to them that are wise for themselves only,* chap. 5. Thus saith the same Scripture, ⁴ *He was wounded for our Iniquities.* And again the same Scripture, *The Nets are not set in vain for the Birds;* and immediately after, *To whom he spoke before the Constitution of the World.* Who? *The same Scripture.* Now this I deny. The preceding Places are all the Words of the Prophet concerning others in the third Person; not, as these, the Words of one to another in the first. (2.) The Words do not immediately follow the others in the Places aforecited, but at the distance of two Periods. (3.) It is very absurd to say the *Scriptures* spoke of, or to Christ, before they themselves existed, namely, upon the sixth Day, the Day before the Consummation of all things. (4.) *Mellier's* Criticism falls hard upon himself, and it may justly be affirmed, that the Words he insists upon as

¹ p. 19. Patr. Apost. 1 Vol. or p. 61. in the old Version. ² p. 60.
61. ³ p. 59. ⁴ p. 60.

a Reason for throwing out those he does not like, do much better deserve that Usage themselves. For (1.) They are no more in the old *Latin* Version than the other. (2.) The Words he refuses, it is probable, were omitted by an ignorant Copyer, as tautologous, (so it often has happened, when a Word is immediately repeated) but the Words he insists upon are very like an Addition, very unlike *Barnabas*. (3.) They are inconsistent with the Place, and consequently absurd.

4. *Mellier's* third Objection is, That, supposing *Barnabas* represented God speaking to his Son, the Words are to be understood as prophetic of the Christ, who was to come, not as directed to him now existing. Thus in another place *Barnabas* asserts, that God spoke to us Christians, *Increase and multiply, and have dominion over the Beasts, &c.* (in the end of *Chap. 6.*) but who can think that *Barnabas* then believed that there were such Persons as the Christians? Here our Adversary deals deceitfully, not only not citing *Barnabas's* Words, as every where else he does, but also translating them false, and reading [God spoke] when the Original plainly has it [God foretold]. Besides, though it should be granted, that God, when he blessed our first Parents, spoke to us, *Increase, &c.* this would not affect the Case at all: For *Adam* was the Type of us, and therefore God might typically speak to us in him; but Christ was not in the old Creation typified by any Person with Regard to the new. The other Places alledged out of *Barnabas* by this Author are nothing to his Purpose. They are the Commands of God to his People by the Prophets; they related to that present Age, and their Successors; they were, as the Apostle says, *Rom. xv. 4. written for our Use:* But no such thing can be said of the Words before us. What *Mellier* has said further from this Author is either frivolous or impertinent.

5. I proceed to defend another Passage of *Barnabas*, cited by Bishop *Bull*, wherein it is said, that the Sun is the Work of his Hands, *i. e.* of the Son's, concerning whom he is there speaking. *Mellier* says that the old

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Interpreter renders it [the Work of the Hand of God] and consequently read so in the *Greek*. To which I answer, (1.) That though he read so, it does not follow that *Barnabas* wrote so, and it is certain that he, and the Copy he used were both alike, grievously corrupt. (2.) *Mellier* confesses the Version imperfect here, and if so, why not rather amend it from the Original, which is perfect, than correct the Original by it? Now it may well be thought that the *Greek* is right, and the Version wrong, because the Reading of the Version is scarce ever met with in the sacred Writers, but that of the *Greek* is very familiar; and because the Corruption of the *Latin* is more easily to be accounted for than that of the *Greek*. (3.) Lastly, supposing, but by no means granting, that *Barnabas* wrote as *Mellier* reads, yet the Argument is not at all the weaker on our side. For thus it stands: If Men can't behold the Sun, the Work of God's Hands, or a Creature, much less could they have bore the Sight of Christ, if he had not come in the Flesh. Now this would be absurd, if Christ, as well as the Sun was the Work of God's Hands, or a Creature. *Barnabas* therefore took him for the Creator, not a Creature, till incarnate. Our Adversary was sensible of this, when he made another Alteration in some preceding Words, writing [seeing God] instead of [seeing him], and contending that God the Father is understood there. In this Place he is as well supported, as in the former; he has neither Reason nor Authority. His *Latin* Version is maimed, and not able to assist him; and *Barnabas* must be excused too, because he can't speak against himself. In those Words, *How shall Men be saved beholding him*, he manifestly alludes to the Brazen Serpent, which in his twelfth Chapter he had largely explained, and expressly called a Type of Christ, because though dead, as Christ was upon the Cross, he could heal others, and he should immediately *be cured*, he who looked upon him; where the Word *cured*, or *saved*, is the same as in the controverted Passage. It was not advisedly done then by *Mellier* to change *αὐτόν* into *Θεόν*,
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when all he could gain by it, was only the fixing that Crime upon himself, which he, p. 20. had injuriously charged upon the Orthodox, namely, corrupting the Words of St. *Barnabas*. Much more might be said in this Case, but to be short, I pass on to another Place of *Barnabas*, chap. 12. *All things are in him and for him, i.e. Christ.* *Mellier's* Sense of these Words, p. 22. is, that in him all such Types and Prophecies were fulfilled, and for him instituted. (1.) This is forced. (2.) Not to be parallell'd by any Place of *Barnabas*, or any other sacred Writer. Whereas, supposing the Passage understood of the Creation, and Preservation of all things by him, St. *Paul* has said the same, *Coloss. i. 16. All things were created by him, and, all things were created by him and for him; and v. 17. All things consist in him.* Thus, O Blessed Jesus, that great and splendid Glory is truly thine, which thy insidious *Socinian* Adversary impiously obscured, and unjustly limited.

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TO pervert that Place in *Hermas*, where he says the Son is more antient than every Creature, *Mellier*, after *Zwicker's* Example, brings another Place of the same Author, *Book 1. Vis. 2.* ' where he says, that the Church was created before every thing, *i.e.* according to his Explication, was decreed, predestinated by God first. After the same manner he would interpret the Place before us, but *Hermas* has made it very difficult, by the Addition of those Words, *He was in Counsel with his Father*, at the Creation; surely then, in being, really existent, not only predestinated, not a Person intended to be of the Counsel long after it should be executed. Nor does *Mellier*, p. 3. help his Cause, when he says, He was therefore said to be in Counsel with his Father, at the Creation, because then he had him in his Mind, in his all-wise Purpose. Strange, wrested In-

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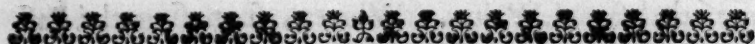
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¹ p. 78. Patr. Apost.

vention ! As for the alledged Place concerning the Church, I'm of opinion *Pseudo Clement* gives good Light to it. *Book 1. Recogn. S. 28.* ¹ where he suggests the Pre-existence of Souls, as *Cotelerius* well observes. *Hermas*, I believe was of the same Opinion, and therefore said, the Church was antienter than every Creature, because he held the Souls of the *Faithful* to be so.

¹ Ap. Patr. p. 493.



S E C T. II.

Of the Consubstantiality of the Son.

C H A P. I.

The Thesis propounded. The Word ὁμοούσιον explained, &c.

I SHALL be pretty large upon this Question, because the whole Controversy between the Catholics and the *Arians* turns upon it. Here then I propose copiously to illustrate and confirm this Thesis :

T H E S I S.

That it was the constant, and consentient Opinion of the Catholic Doctors of the three first Centuries, *That the Son of God is consubstantial, i. e. of the same Substance with his Father, not of any created, mutable Essence, but altogether of the same Divine, unchangeable Nature with his Father, and therefore very God of very God.*

Before I enter upon the Proof of this Position, I will premise something concerning the true Sense, and
antient

antient Use of the Word *Homousion*, used by the *Nicene* Fathers in their Creed. The *Arians* raised a mighty dust about this Word, insomuch that many of the Catholics, Lovers of Peace, and wearied with their Clamours, began to disallow it, as we learn from ¹ *Hilary*, &c. This impious and turbulent Faction sometimes affirmed it patronized *Sabellianism*; sometimes the direct contrary, that it made a Partition, or Division of the Divine Essence; and lastly, to shew how low they could descend, that it introduced a certain Substance, prior to Father and Son, of which they did equally partake. All this Logomachy I will now clearly prove to be groundless.

2. *Homousion* in the best *Greek* Authors is said to be, that which is of the same Essence, Substance, or Nature, with something else. Thus the Notation of the Word. Thus *Porphyry*, ² *If the Souls of Animals are of the same Nature with ours.* Thus *Aristotle*, ³ *All the Stars are of the same Nature.* After the same manner *Irenæus* ⁴ uses it in explaining the *Valentinian* Tenets. The Heretics taught that what was spiritual could not be formed by *Achamoth*, as being of the same Nature with her. Again, That she first out of an Animal Substance made the King and Parent of all things, as well of those things which were of the same Nature with him, as of those which proceeded from Matter and Passion. Again, That *Hylicus* was in Appearance like, but not of the same Nature with God. Again. That the *Demeurgus* himself knew not the Birth of Mother *Achamoth*, which she conceived by the Contemplation of those Angels, which attend the Saviour, it being spiritual of the same Nature with its Mother. Thus in *Theodotus's* Excerpts at the end of the Works of *Clement Alexandr.* ⁵ This Word is said to be used by the *Gnostics*; which Heretics accommodated many others, and this Word among the rest, used concerning the Trinity, to their *Æons*. This is confirmed by the very antient

¹ In Libro de Synodis. ² De abstinentia, lib. 1. n. 19. ³ Cited by an anonymous Author of the famous Opinions about the Soul, published with Origen's Philocalia. ⁴ Irenæi Opera, Colon. 1625. lib. 1. p. 22, & 24. ⁵ Clem. p. 571.

Christian Author of a Book, intituled, *Pemandres*, a Person who was no *Gnostic*, how greatly soever he might be mistaken in other respects: He says expressly (as I shall shew hereafter) that the *Word* is *Homoousios* with the Father. The Author of a Piece, intituled *Questiones Græcæ ad Christianos*, printed with *Justin's* Works, ¹ says of the Soul, that it is *Homoousia*, or of the *same Substance* with Angels and Dæmons. *Agapins* ² is said by *Photius* to have taught many impious Doctrines, and this among the rest, that the Soul is *consubstantial* with God. The same he says afterwards of the Sun and Moon, using this Word. Lastly, ³ *Theodoret* brings a Citation out of *Apollinaris*, where he says, that Men are *Homoousioi*, of the *same Nature* with irrational Animals with respect to their Body, which is void of Reason, but not so, *Heterousioi*, of *another Nature*, or Substance, with respect to that which is rational in them.

3. That the *Nicene* Bishops affirm'd the Son to be consubstantial with the Father, in this very Sense, shall be made plain to all impartial Men, to all who are not manifestly of a contentious Spirit, from the Words of the *Nicene* Creed. For after the Fathers had said that the Son of God was the *only begotten of the Father*, they immediately add these Words, *that is, of the Substance of the Father*. What that means they shew in the following Words, *God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made*. Then they subjoin this: *Of the same Substance with the Father*, as comprizing all that had been before said of the Son. Again, in the End of the Creed they sufficiently declare, what they would have us understand by *Homoousion*, *consusubstantial* or *of the same Substance*, when they anathematize the *Arians* as saying that the Son of God is of another Hypostasis or Essence; that he is created, convertible or changeable. This then was the Affirmation of the *Nicene* Bishops, that the Son of God was consubstantial with the Father in a Sense opposite to the *Arian* Blasphemies, that is, not a created Nature, of a Nature different from the Father's, or

¹ p. 203. ² Photii Myriobiblon, Rothomagi Ed. 1653. Cod. 179. p. 403. ³ In Dialog. Ἀσύχιστος.

mutable; but altogether of the same divine, immutable Nature with the Father. Thus the whole stream of those Doctors have interpreted the *Homoonfion*, who were most likely to know best their Mind and Meaning.

4. So the great *Athanasius* disputes against the *Arians*, who pretended themselves in all other respects Embracers of the Nicene Faith, and only startled at the new and dangerous Word *Homoonfion*: *If after so much, the Testimony of the antient Bishops and the Subscription of their own Fathers, they pretend, as not knowing the Import of it, to be afraid of the word Homoonfion, let them say and think, that he is plainly and truly the Son, the Son by Nature; let them, as the Synod hath ordered, anathematize those who say he is a Creature, something made, that he is of nothing, that there was a time, when the Son of God was not, that he is convertible, changeable, and of another Substance. Thus let them abandon the Arian Heresy, and we are confident, that sincerely anathematizing these Expressions, they must immediately confess, that the Son is of the Substance of the Father, and consubstantial with him. For this reason it was that the Fathers, after they had said the Son was consubstantial, immediately subjoined; The Catholic Church anathematizes those that say he is a Creature, or made, or of nothing, or that there was a time when he was not. By these Words they make known the Import of the Word Homoonfion. Hereby it is discovered, that it is not, when applied to the Son, any thing created or made; and that he who says the Word is consubstantial, does not think him to be a Creature; that he who anathematizes the aforesaid Expressions, at the same time thinks the Son to be consubstantial with the Father; that he who says he is consubstantial, says he is the genuine, true, very Son of God; and that he who says he is genuine, understands that Passage of Holy Scripture, I and my Father are one.*

5. *Hilary* writes after the same manner: “ Is any one
“ displeased that the *Homoonfion* is received in the Council
“ of *Nice*? If he is, he must need be pleas’d that it is re-
“ jected by the *Arians*. For it is therefore rejected that
“ the Son is consubstantial, that God the Son may be
“ preached, not as born of the Substance of God the Fa-

“ ther, but as made out of nothing, as the Creatures are.
 “ We say nothing new. The *Arian* Perfidy stands self-
 “ convicted by many of their Letters. If the meaning of
 “ those who confess it was pious thro’ the Impiety of those
 “ who deny it; how is that now opposed, which was then
 “ piously received, because impiously rejected? If it was
 “ piously received, how is it that the pious Constitution
 “ which took away Impiety in the very means by which it
 “ was spread, is become criminal? Let us consider then what
 “ the Council of *Nice* ordain’d in confessing the *Homoousion*,
 “ or that the Father and Son are of one Substance. They did
 “ not give birth to Herefy; for that is conceived by taking
 “ the Word in a bad Sense. They will not say (I sup-
 “ pose) that the Father and Son divided a certain Sub-
 “ stance antienter than their own particular Substance, by
 “ sharing it betwixt them.” Again, after he has recited
 the *Nicene* Creed, he proceeds thus: “ The most holy
 “ Synod does not here introduce I can’t tell what prior
 “ Substance divided into two, but the Son begotten of
 “ the Father’s Substance. What else do we deny, or
 “ what else confess? And after the other Expositions of
 “ the common Faith, he says, that he was begotten, not
 “ made, of one Substance with the Father, which the
 “ *Greeks* call *Homoousion*. What occasion for any bad
 “ meaning? The Son is therefore said to be born of the
 “ Substance of the Father, that the Nativity may not be
 “ construed a Creation. He is therefore said to be of one
 “ Substance, not that he is one alone, but that he is from
 “ no other Original but the Substance of God, nor is of
 “ any Substance different from his. Is not this our Faith,
 “ that he is not from any other, that he is not of a diffe-
 “ rent Substance? The *Homoousion* testifies nothing else
 “ than, that the Nature of the two is one and alike, ac-
 “ cording to the Propagation of Nature; for the Essence
 “ of the Son is not from any other than the Father: Now
 “ because it is from no other, both are rightly said to be of
 “ one Substance, because the Son hath not the Substance
 “ in which he was born, but as he hath the Father the
 “ Author of it.”

6. The great *Basil* ¹ arguing against those, who admitted the *Nicene Creed* in all things, the Word *Homoousion* only excepted, after some things, which shall be cited hereafter in their proper Place, thus disputes: “ Since there
 “ were some, who then said the Son was made of nothing,
 “ to cut off this Impiety, they added the Word *Homoou-*
 “ *sion*: For the Union of the Son with the Father is eternal
 “ and uninterrupted. Besides, the preceding Words will
 “ shew the Mind of these Men. Thus, after they have
 “ said, that the Son was Light of Light, of the Sub-
 “ stance of the Father, that he was begotten not made,
 “ they add the *Homoousion*, thereby shewing, that what
 “ Account soever any one shall give of Light in the Fa-
 “ ther, the same he must adapt to Light in the Son: For
 “ true Light, under the very Notion of Light, can’t dif-
 “ fer from true Light. Since then the Father is Light un-
 “ originated, and the Son Light begotten, and both of
 “ them Light, they justly said they were *Homoousioi*, in
 “ order to represent to us the Equality of their Nature.
 “ Now those that are of the same Nature one with ano-
 “ ther collaterally are not call’d consubstantial, as some sup-
 “ pose; but when the Cause or Principle, and that which
 “ has its being from it, are of the same Nature, of them
 “ the Word *Homoousios* is rightly used.

7. The *Semi-Arians* themselves confessed this to be the true Sense of this Word in the Synod of *Antioch*, under *Jovian*, being informed by *Meletius* the President of the Synod, and a genuine Catholic, as *St. Basil* ² has abundantly proved. Thus they write concerning the Synod of *Nice*, in their Synodical Epistle to the Excellent Emperor:
 “ Now that Word, which in the Synod seem’d strange to
 “ some, We mean the *Homoousion*, had a safe Interpretation
 “ given to it by the Fathers, namely, that the Son was
 “ born of the Substance of the Father, and was in Sub-
 “ stance like the Father, not as tho’ in that ineffable Ge-
 “ neration any thing passive is to be conceived, or as tho’

¹ Tom. 3. p. 292. Ed. Paris, 1638.
 & Sozom. H. E. l. 6. c. 4.

² Socrat. H. E. l. 3. c. 25.

“ the Word *Onsa* was taken in the *Gentile Sense*, but in
 “ such a Sense as to overturn that impious *Arian* Tenet con-
 “ cerning the Son, That he was made of nothing.” I
 suppose it is now clear to all, in what Sense the Council of
Nice used the Word *Homoousion*.

8. Further, this Word was not first invented by the *Ni-
 cene* Fathers, nor first applied to this very Controversy by
 them (as some have thought) but derived down to them by
 their Ancestors ¹ as *Eusebius* witnesses: *I have known several
 eloquent and illustrious Bishops and Writers of the Antients use
 this Word Homooousion concerning the Divinity of the Father
 and Son.* *Eusebius*, no doubt, could have confirmed this
 Assertion out of many antient Monuments, now lost; and
 notwithstanding the deplorable Loss, we still have sufficient
 Evidence. Thus *Tertullian* ² expressly says, that the Fa-
 ther, Son, and Holy Ghost, are of one Substance, and af-
 firms this to be contained in the Rule of Faith, &c.

What else is this than the *Homoousion*? This he took (as
 his Custom was) from the antient *Greek* Writers. *Rufi-
 nus* says ³ *Origen* frequently used this Word. “ Could he
 “ in the same Work, and sometimes in the same Book, as
 “ we said, and in the Chapter immediately following, for-
 “ get himself? For instance, he had observed that the Fa-
 “ ther and the Son were of one Substance, in *Greek*
 “ *Homoousioi*. Could he in the Chapters immediately fol-
 “ lowing affirm him to be of another Nature or Substance,
 “ and created, whom he had a little before pronounced to
 “ be begotten of the very Nature or Substance of God
 “ the Father? And both *Rufinus* and *Pamphilus*, in that
 Apology (which I shall prove to be truly his) cite him
 using it, and defend him as of Catholic Principles in that
 particular, because he used it. *Pamphilus* brings an Exam-
 ple in his Apology, namely, these Words of *Origen* upon
 the Epistle to the *Hebrews*: “ These Similitudes plainly
 “ shew a Communion of Nature between the Father and

¹ *Socrates* Book 1. ch. 8. p. 22. So *Athanasius* p. 896. T. 1. Ed. *Bened.*
 and p. 238. of the same Tome. ² p. 51. Lib. adv. Prax. ³ *Ru-
 finus* de Adulter. Lib. *Origenis*.

“ the Son. For the Efflux seems *Homoousia*, that is, of
 “ one Substance with that Body, from which it is an
 “ Efflux or Vapour.” *Athanasius* ¹ says, that *Dionysius*
Alexandr. Origen’s Scholar, in his Letter to *Dionysius Ro-*
manus, affirmed the Son to be consubstantial with God,
 and that *Dionysius Romanus* exacted the same of him in
 Terms². From whence it appears, that in their Age it was
 in frequent Use, and that they who refused it, incurred
 the Censure of the Church. For all this, *Sandius* has the
 Ignorance or Impudence to say, that even *Athanasius* owns
 it was coined at *Nice* ³. Now *Athanasius* says moreover,
 that it was put into the Creed upon the Testimony of
ancient Bishops; and if *Athanasius* be not of Credit suffici-
 ent, *Dionysius*, in his ⁴ Epistle against *Paulus Samosatenus*,
 will tell us, that the Son was said, to be consubstantial with
 the Father, by the holy Fathers. Thus *Eusebius*’s Testimo-
 ny is confirmed, and the use of the Word shewn to be
 older than the Synod of *Nice*. The Age of *Pamphilus*
 proves this also, for he was crowned with Martyrdom be-
 fore the Synod under *Maximin*. Lastly, the Author of
Pemandres attributed to *Mercurius Trismegistus*, (none of his
 without doubt, as *Petavius* has solidly proved, but yet by
 Confession of the same *Petavius*, written by some very an-
 cient Author, as is also plain from *Justin*’s Citation of him)
 says that the Word of God is consubstantial with the Fa-
 ther.

9. But the greatest Prejudice which some have against the
Homoousion is, that the Synod of *Antioch* assembled against
Paul of Samosata, and about sixty Years older than the
Nicene, expressly rejected this Word. This Contrariety
 of the Synods has been labour’d by Antients and Moderns;
 but to keep to my Design, and only speak of the Antients.
Hilary ⁵ says that *Paulus Samosatenus* in his Confession used
 this Word in a bad Sense, and that therefore the *Antiochian*
 Fathers rejected it. “ *Paulus*, says he, confessed the Ho-

¹ p. 255. Vol. 1. Ed. Benedict. Again, p. 757, &c. ² p. 896,
 above cited, and 898, of the same Tome. ³ *Sandius de Scriptor.*
Eccles. p. 39, 40. Ed. Sec. and p. 121, 122. ⁴ *Bibl. Patr. Tom.*
⁵ p. 277. ⁶ In *Lib. de Syned. adv. Arianos* prope finem.

“ *moonfion* in a bad Sense, but did the *Arians* deny it in a better?” But how could *Paul* confess it? *Petavius* ¹ will have it, and *Hilary* is his Author, that *Paul* used it in a *Sabellian* Sense, namely, in such a Sense, as Christ must be excluded, and the Father and the Son be *solitary and only one*. “ He might admit it, as *Sabellius* did, with whom he agrees “ in his Opinion of the Trinity; so as to assert only one “ Substance and Essence of the Divinity, from which Christ “ was clearly to be distinguish’d.” Now that *Paul* affirm’d the Word to be consubstantial in the same Sense with *Sabellius*, *Hilary* shews on the same Place. “ There he says, he “ taught that the Son was consubstantial, the Use of which “ Word the Fathers in the *Antiochian* Synod forbade, because “ by this Title or Epithet [of one Essence] he [Paul] “ preach’d up, that the Father and the Son were one and “ one only.” But this with Submission to the holy Father, does not seem probable to me. For granting that *Paul* was of the same Opinion with *Sabellius*, (which is justly to be doubted) it is certain that *Sabellius* would have willingly never asserted, that the Son was *Homoousion*, but rather *Tautoousion*. Besides, if the *Sabellians* before the Council of *Nice* used this Word to propagate their Heresy, it is by no means credible that the *Nicene* Fathers, who equally abhorred *Sabellianism* and *Arianism*, would take it into their Creed. ² *Sandius* boldly affirms, that the Followers of *Sabellius* embraced the *Homoousion* (before the Synod of *Nice*, I suppose); for unless that be his Meaning, he says nothing to the Purpose. Whence in another Place he expressly says that *Sabellius* himself used it. Let us see why he says so. He brings in *Socrates* and *Sozomen* saying, that those, who refused the *Homoousion*, asserted, the Approvers of it did again introduce the Opinion of *Montanus* and *Sabellius*; (observe the Agreement betwixt these two) and therefore called them Blasphemers. ³ Now *Socrates* and *Sozomen* ⁴ in the cited Places tell us, that there were great Disputes after

¹ De Trin. Lib. 4. cap. 5. n. 2. ² Enecl. Histor. Eccles. lib. 1. p. 12. ³ Socrates book 1 chap. 23. p. 48. ⁴ Sozomen book 2. chap. 18. p. 381, &c.

the *Nicene* Council betwixt the very Bishops who profess the *Nicene* Faith, especially betwixt *Eusebius Pamph.* and *Eustathius Antioch.* concerning this Word. *Eusebius* and his Friends charged *Eustathius's* *Homoousion* with *Montanism* and *Sabellianism*; *Eustathius* and his, objected to *Eusebius* the *Gentile* Polytheism. But still (as *Socrates* says from a Perusal of their Letters one to another) both of them professed to believe, that the Son was a real subsisting Person, and that there was one God in three Persons or Subsistences. Now it is especially to be observed here, that *Eusebius*, &c. never pretended that the Word taken in its strict and proper Meaning, did confirm *Sabellianism*; much less did the *Nicene* Fathers intend that it should; but he said this only, that *Eustathius*, &c. who embraced the Word, would introduce *Sabellianism*, i. e. did so interpret it as to favour that Heresy. Nay, *Socrates* expressly says, that *Eusebius* in the same Letter, in which he thus charges *Eustathius*, openly professes that he does not transgress the *Nicene* Creed. It is not worth our time to enquire, whether this Accusation of *Eusebius* against *Eustathius* is true or not; this however is certain, *Eusebius* has plainly proved *Marcellus*, *Eustathius's* Master, a *Sabellian*; and upon that account ¹ *Hilary*, *Basil*, ² &c. have given him place amongst the Heretics. Nor does it signify that *Marcellus* was great with *Athanasius*. He was a cunning Man, and zealous against the *Arians*. As for *Eustathius* he was honoured with *Athanasius's* Acquaintance, and well-esteemed by very many Catholics, (I have no Inclination to depreciate him) yet I can't for my life think, how the Synod of *Antioch*, tho' it consisted chiefly of *Arians*, should of all others mark him as a *Sabellian*, and depose him for that Reason, unless he had given some handle for it. ³ *Socrates* indeed doubts the Fact, but upon very slender Grounds. Nor is it more to the Purpose, that *Cyrus* Bishop of *Berea* (according to *Georgius Laodiceus* the *Arian's* Account in *Socrates* ⁴) who

¹ Hilar. in Lib. ad Constantium. ² Basil. Ep. 52, 74, 78. ³ Socrat. book 1. chap. 24. p. 49. Sozom. book 2. chap. 19. p. 382. ⁴ Socrat. ibid.

accused *Eustathius* of *Sabellianism* before the Council, was himself a Catholic, and afterwards (according to *Athanasius* ¹) deposed by the *Arians* for being so. Now the same *Georgius* says, that *Cyrus* was also deposed for *Sabellianism*, understanding by it (as *Valesius* ² has well observed) the *Homoousion*. This Observation clears up the seeming Contrariety in *Georgius's* Account, which puzzled *Socrates*. But what is all this to *Sandius*? Where, and what is the Consequence? *Eusebius* accused *Eustathius* for putting a *Sabellian* Sense upon the *Homoousion* rightly understood by the *Nicene* Fathers; therefore the *Sabellians* before the Council of *Nice* used and embraced the Word *Homoousion*. What *Sandius* notes by the bye concerning the Agreement of *Montanus* and *Sabellius* I will consider hereafter. I therefore again assert, that the *Sabellians* did never willingly and of their own accord use this Word; but that after the Sanction given to it by the Council, they endeavoured to screen their Heresy under it. It is so far from agreeing with *Sabellianism*, that it plainly opposes it. Thus *Basil* observes. "This same Word corrects the Error of *Sabellius*, it takes away the Identity of Subsistence, and introduces a complex Notion of Persons. For the same thing is not consubstantial with it self, but one thing with another." I conclude therefore that *Paulus Samosatenus* did not use this Word in a *Sabellian* Sense, and that the *Antiochian* Fathers did not upon that Account reject it. *

10. The great *Athanasius*, and no Man could know this Matter better (for he was at the Synod of *Nice*, in which, when all things relating to the *Homoousion*, were exactly discussed, no doubt but this leading Question concerning the Determination of the *Antiochian* Fathers was) says, that *Paulus Samos.* did not confess the *Homoousion*, but rather endeavoured

¹ Tom. i. p. 347. ² Annot. ad Socrat. p. 14. ³ To the same purpose *Athanasius*, Ep. 300. * The Author of the Answer to the Collection of *Queries* passes all this over, and roundly asserts what is here confuted. The Impertinence of his *Queries* in the Appendix of his Book, and the Sophistry of his Conclusion from them, is monstrous, supposing what the Bishop asserts true; and if it be false, why is it not confuted? It is too exact and elaborate to be despis'd, and (which perhaps is the true Reason why it was not attack'd) too strong to be defeated.

to subvert the Catholic Doctrine by a sophistical Argument drawn from the Word used by the Catholics, in explaining it, and therefore the *Antiochian* Fathers thought fit to suppress it. His Words are clear and full. After *Athanasius* had shewn that the Word *Homoousion* was confirmed before the Synod of *Nice*, by *Dionysius Romanus*, and a Council of Bishops assembled at *Rome* under him, in the Cause of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*; and that it was also owned by *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, he thus largely disputes, concerning the Contradiction of the Synod of *Antioch* and that of *Nice* :
 “ If any one therefore blames the *Nicene* Fathers, because
 “ they did not exactly observe the Tenets of their An-
 “ cestors, the same Person may for as good a Reason blame
 “ the seventy *Antiochian* Fathers ; they did not exactly fol-
 “ low their Ancestors, the two *Dionysii*, and the Bishops
 “ assembled at *Rome* : But neither of them are to be blam’d.
 “ They both minded the things of Christ, bent their Endeavours
 “ against Heretics, and condemned, the one Council the *Samosatenian*, the other the *Arian* Heresy ; they
 “ determined orthodoxly and gloriously both of them with
 “ regard to the subject Matter. The Apostle says, *The Law*
 “ *is spiritual, the Law is holy, and the Command holy, just*
 “ *and good* ; a little after he says, *But what was impossible for*
 “ *the Law, in that it was weak, &c.* Shall we blame the holy
 “ Man as writing Contradictions, and not rather admire
 “ him for speaking so pertinently to the Point in hand ?
 “ So the Fathers of these Councils spoke differently of the
 “ *Homoousion* ; but we are not therefore to dissent from
 “ them, but to examine into their Meaning. This if we
 “ do, we shall find them exactly agreeing. They that
 “ condemned *Samosatenus*, took the *Homoousion* in a *corporeal*
 “ *Sense* ; for thus *Paul* would sophistically argue : If
 “ Christ is not made God of Man, then he is consubstantial
 “ with the Father ; whence it necessarily follows that
 “ there are three Substances, one prior, and the other two
 “ derived from it : The Fathers therefore justly avoiding
 “ this Sophism said, Christ is not consubstantial, namely,

‡ *Athanasii opera. Tom. i. 757, 758, &c.*

“ he doth not stand in such a Way, Relation, or Manner
 “ to the Father, as the Heretic supposed. They that con-
 “ demned the *Arian* Herefy, observed the Craft of *Paul*,
 “ considered that *consubstantial* was not to be so understood
 “ in incorporeal things, or the Divinity; knew that the
 “ *Word* was something begotten of the Substance of the
 “ Father, not a Creature; that the Substance of the Father
 “ is the Origin, Root and Fountain of the Son; that
 “ there is in every respect a true Likeness between that
 “ which is begotten, and that which begat; that he is
 “ not, as we, of a different Substance, and separate from
 “ the Father, but that he is the Son of the very Father,
 “ and can no more be separated from him than Bright-
 “ ness from Light: They had before their Eyes the Ex-
 “ amples and Writings of the *Dionysii*, and especially those
 “ Words of our Saviour which express this Union, *I and*
 “ *my Father are one*, --- *He that hath seen me, hath seen my*
 “ *Father also*; and justly induced to it by those Reasons,
 “ they called the Son *Homoousion*.” A little after he
 adds, “ Because *Samosatenus* thought that the Son was
 “ not before the Blessed *Mary*, but took from her the Be-
 “ ginning of his Being, the Bishops then gathered toge-
 “ ther, condemned, and rejected him as an Heretic; they
 “ wrote more simply about the Son’s Divinity, they were
 “ not critical in considering the *Homoousion*, and so spoke
 “ of it, as they understood it from *Paul*; they were whol-
 “ ly intent to destroy what he advanced, and to teach that
 “ the Son was before all things, that he was not made God
 “ of Man, but that tho’ he was God he became a Servant,
 “ and tho’ he was the Word was made *Flesh*. Thus they
 “ proceeded against *Paul*. But when *Eusebius* and *Arius*
 “ said the Son was before Ages, but yet made, and one
 “ of the Creatures; when they interpreted [of God] not
 “ as tho’ he was his genuine Son, but so of God as other
 “ created things are, and deny’d an essential, natural, sub-
 “ stantial Unity of the Son and Father, making it only
 “ an Unity of Opinion, Doctrine or Judgment; when

“ by all Methods they disjoined the Essence of the Son
 “ from that of the Father, feigned him another Principle
 “ of Existence, and brought him down into the Rank of
 “ Creatures : Then the *Nicene* Bishops beholding the
 “ Craft of the Heresiarchs, made use of the *Homoousion*
 “ more clearly to express what they had collected out of the
 “ Scriptures, and to signify that he was a real Son, and had
 “ nothing in common with Creatures.” For the *Critical Sense*
 of that Word both exposes their Hypocrisy, when they say
 that he is of God, and excludes all their Subtilties, by
 which they ensnare weak Man. Indeed when nothing else
 could withstand their quibbling Sophisms, this Word be-
 came formidable, a Defence and Bulwark against all their
 impious Attacks.

II. ¹ *Basil* is of the same Opinion. After he has spoke
 of the Publication of the *Nicene* Creed, these are his Words:
 “ The other Parts of this Creed are clear of Calumny, but
 “ there are some who don’t admit the Word *Homoousion*,
 “ because by some Persons taken in a bad Sense. These
 “ Men are both to be blamed and pardoned. To reject
 “ our Fathers, and substitute *our own Sentiments as more*
 “ *proper than theirs*, is blameable and presuming; but then
 “ to suspect what has been formerly accused, in some sort
 “ alleviates the Crime. Indeed the Synod concerned with
 “ *Paulus Samosatenus* were against the Word as not suitable :
 “ They said that it did exhibit a Notion of Substance,
 “ and what was derived from it, as tho’ Substance divided
 “ did give to the Parts into which it was divided, the Name
 “ or Epithet of *Homoousion*. This is rational, when you
 “ speak of Brass, and the Coins made of it; but when you
 “ consider God the Father and God the Son, you can’t
 “ find any Substance before or above them. To think, or
 “ to say so is beyond Impiety it self.” You observe then,
 that *Basil* expressly witnesseth, that the *Antiochian* Fathers
 only so far rejected the *Homoousion*, as *Paul* misapplied it,
i. e. as it seemed to denote a Divine Substance prior to Fa-
 ther and Son, which was afterwards divided into Father

¹ Ep. 300.

and Son. It is plain then that neither *Paul* nor *Sabellius* confess'd the *Homoonfion* in this Sense. It remains therefore that what *Athanasius* wrote is very true, namely, That *Paul* from the Word *Homoonfion* (which he knew was used by the Catholics, and by some of them so explained as to give a handle to this Calumny) formed an Argument against the Divinity of Christ; and that therefore the Fathers suppressed the Word.

12. The History of the Council of *Nice* does not a little confirm this. It is highly probable that the *Antiochian* Fathers did reject the *Homoonfion* for the same Reason, for which some of the *Nicene* Fathers were displeased at it, till more distinctly explained by the other Fathers and *Constantine*. But then this Reason was not because it favoured the Cause of *Paul* and *Sabellius*, and because they used it in explaining their Heresy; but because the Word seemed to some to introduce a Partition in the Divine Nature. To this Purpose *Eusebius*¹: “When this Form (the *Nicene* “Creed) was dictated by them, we strictly examined “these Words [*of the Substance of the Father*] and [*con-* “*substantial with the Father*]. Thence arose Disputations “and a rational Trial of these Expressions; and the Fa- “thers owned that [*of the Substance of the Father*] did de- “note that he was of the Father, but not so as to be a Part “of the Father; to which Sense I thought my self oblig’d “to consent.” The same *Eusebius*² says that *Constantine* satisfied some of the Bishops in these Words: “That the “*Homoonfion* was not so used here, as when applied to Bo- “dies; that he did not subsist from the Father by way of “Division or Abscission, for that it was impossible the im- “material, spiritus-incorporeal Nature should be corporeally “affected: But we must understand these Things in a “divine ineffable manner.” Lastly, *Alexander*, in his E- pistle to his Name-sake of *Constantinople*, informs³ us, that *Sabellius* himself before *Paul*, denied the Generation of the Son from the Father into a real distinct Person, *i. e.* the

¹ Socrates, *book* 1. *chap.* 8. p. 20, &c. *book* 1. *chap.* 4. p. 17.

² Ibid.

³ Theodoret,

Homoouſion, for this Reason, that it implied a Division or Section of the Divine Substance ; where he ſays, “ That he was born, not of nothing, but of his exiſting Father, not as Bodies are by Sciffion or Efflux, as *Sabellius* thinks.” Theſe Words admit two Senſes ; either (1.) That *Sabellius* thought the Son born of the Father by Abſciſſion or Division of the Father’s Substance. Or (2.) That the Catholic Notion implied ſo much, and was therefore rejected by him. The former Senſe is very abſurd ; All Men know that *Sabellius* affirmed that God was only one Perſon ; it remains therefore that the other be the true Senſe. And indeed I ſhall hereafter clearly ſhew from *Juſtin Martyr* that it muſt be ſo, and that the oldeſt Predeceſſors of *Sabellius*, whoſe Hereſy *Juſtin* rehearſes and confutes, after this manner oppoſed the Diſtinction of Perſons. Nay, it is manifeſt that all thoſe Heretics, who have denied the diſtinct Subſiſtence of the Son (whether *Sabellians*, *Samofatenians* or *Arians*) have placed the Strength of their Cauſe in this Sophiſm. Nor do I doubt but that the *Nicene* Fathers intended to obviate it, when, after they have ſaid that *the Son was begotten of the Substance of the Father*, they add immediately, *God of God, Light of Light* : For by theſe Words they ſignify, that the Son is ſo begotten of the Father, God of God, as one Light is of another ; not by a Division or Diminution of the paternal Eſſence, but by a ſimple Communication, ſuch (if we may repreſent incorporeal by corporeal things) as the Communication of one Light from another without any Division or Diminution.

13. Upon an exact Conſideration of all Things, this then is, in my Thoughts, the beſt Reconciliation of that ſeeming Contrariety between the Synods of *Antioch* and *Nice*. The Catholics before *Paul* and the *Antiochian* Synod aſſembled againſt him, were wont to ſay in their Diſſertations upon the Divinity of the Father and the Son, that the Son was conſubſtantial with the Father. This is plain from the Teſtimonies which I have cited

‡ And Valentinus. Vide locum prædictum.

out

out of the Antients before that Council. Now *Paul* us'd all Methods to overturn this Doctrine, and amongst the rest a Sophism against it grounded upon a perverse Sense of the word *Homoousion*, thus: If the Son is consubstantial to the Father, as ye Catholics say, it follows that the Divine Substance is cut in two Parts, one of which constitutes the Father, the other the Son; and therefore that there was a Divine Substance prior to Father and Son, which was afterwards divided betwixt them. The *Antiochian* Fathers justly abhorred this Explication, and upon that account (not solicitous about Words in a Controversy of so great Import) were content, that they might take away from the Heretic the Ground of his Cavil, to suppress the Word, and establish the Thing. But afterward, when the *Arians* deny'd, what was really in that Word signify'd, *i. e.* the Divinity of our Lord, and pretended, probably, the Definition of the *Antiochian* Synod, in Defence of their Heresy; the *Nicene* Bishops with good Reason restor'd that very expressive Term, which had been read, and approv'd by the Fathers before the Synod of *Antioch*, and only omitted by that Synod, because of the ill Use made of it by *Paul*; they inserted it in their Creed, and added in that very Creed such an Explication of it, as none but an Heretic could reject. This is a sufficient Defence of the *Nicene* Fathers with all impartial Judges. But yet to this *Arhanasius* adds that there was a Necessity upon them to restore it, (tho' no Scriptural Term, and formerly for not so weighty Reasons rejected) because of the incredible and detested Craft of the *Arians*. Those Masters of Fiction and Reserve could swallow any Term, or Terms proposed to them by the Catholics, except the *Homoousion*, the exact and critical Sense of which word precluded all Equivocation. They could own the Son begotten of the Father, and soften it with this Reservation, that he was so begotten of him as all other Creatures. They could say he was the Son of God, and very God, meaning that he is truly God, who is truly made God. When the *Catholics* accus'd them of calling the Son of God a Creature,

ture, they shew'd Indignation with this secret Intendment that the Son of God was not a Creature as other Creatures; they were so mediately by the Word, he immediately without the Word. The *Homoousion* was the only Word that they could not reconcile to their Heresy.

¹ *Athanasius* again testifies, and it is worthy Observation, that this tricking of the *Arians* hindered the design of the *Nicene Bishops* of expressing their Creed in Scripture Terms only. ² *Ambrosius* excellently confirms what *Athanasius* has told us, namely, that the *Homoousion* did so grieve the *Arians*. Lastly, they could even now use the Word *Homoousion* as well as the other Terms, if they could find a Way to pervert it. But when they saw themselves reduced to Difficulties by this Word, they utterly rejected it. *Athanasius* ³ produces many Creeds or Confessions of the *Arians* themselves to the same purpose, in which though you may find any other Catholic Term, you can never meet with the *Homoousion*; they are all over Indignation against it, and vainly bite the Chain with which they are bound.

14. *Curcellanus* is by no means to be regarded, when he is not ashamed to affirm, that the *Nicene Bishops* did therefore insert the *Homoousion* in their Creed, as the Test of Orthodoxy, though rejected as Heretical by the *Antiochian Fathers*, because they were Strangers to that Decree of the *Antiochians*; and that after the Synod was broke up, and they knew it, it did not then seem right to change any thing. What sober Man can think that of Three hundred and eighteen Bishops, some very learned, and some very old (as *Eusebius* has above told us) not one should know what was decreed in a very famous Synod of late Date! Supposing all the rest, to oblige this Writer, so ignorant of Ecclesiastical Story, as he would have them, surely *Eusebius Casariensis*, a Man, without question, very skill-

¹ *Epistle to the African Bishops in Theodoret's Hist. book 1. chap. 8. p. 27.*

² See that whole Piece concerning the Synods of Rimini and Seleucia, p. 717. Tom. 1. part. 2.

³ *Ambros. de Filiis Divinitate cap. 4.*

ful that way, must know it; and *Athanasius*, who was at the Synod of *Nice*,¹ acquaints us, that the *Nicene* Bishops knew the Sophistry of *Paul*, by which he had brought about the Rejection of that very fit Term, and that they therefore restored it. Nothing sure can be more express against *Curcellanus*.

15. Before we finish this Dissertation, we must say something to *Sandius*. He² says this Word was first coined by Heretics, the *Valentinians*, and other *Gnostics*, that *Montanus*, *Theodotus*, *Sabellius*, *Paulus Samosatenus*, and the *Manichees* took it from them; and that *Irenaeus*, *Clem. Alex.* and others say so. I suppose he will scarce say, it was first coined and used by the *Gnostics*, because I have proved before, that it was used by the antienter Heathen Writers. If he says, that the *Gnostics* used it in speaking of their *Æons*; we own it, we own that *Irenaeus*, and other Catholic Writers have said so, but what then? The *Gnostics* used the Words *Logos*, *Saviour*, *Paraclete*; does it therefore follow that they made them, or that we ought to reject them? By no means. Well spoke *Tertullian*,³ *The Truth is not precluded the Use of a Word, because Heresy uses it; but rather Heresy has borrowed it of the Truth to countenance a Lie.* In short, either *Sandius* has said that the *Gnostics* first taught, that the Word or Son of God is consubstantial with the Father; or he must own that he has said nothing to the Purpose. But it is entirely false, neither *Irenaeus*, nor any antient Author, has affirmed it; nay further, the contrary is true: The *Gnostics*, i. e. *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, &c. denied the *Homounsjon*, and were therefore condemned of Heresy by the Antients. They were so far from acknowledging it, that they said that *Æon*, the *Logos*, did not at all know his Father. Thus *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, &c. they denied his Coeternity, said Silence was before the *Logos*, and therefore that there was a Time when he was not, and they were upon this Account also obnoxious to the antient Catholic Doctors of the Church. In a word, We shall shew hereafter to a Demonstration, that the *Arian* Heresy

¹ In the Place aforecited.

² p. 122.

³ p. 504.

is the Spawn of the ¹ *Gnostics*. So much for *Sabellius* and *Samosatenus*. It remains now to examine why *Montanus* is hooked in. *Sandius*, it is like, finds ² *Socrates* and *Sozomen* joining *Montanus* with *Sabellius* in the Doctrine of the Trinity. Hear what the excellent *Valesius* says upon the Place. "It is obscure, why *Socrates* joins *Montanus* and *Sabellius* : For *Montanus* did not innovate in the Doctrine of the Trinity, but kept close to the Catholic Church, as *Epiphanius* ³ and ⁴ *Theodoret* tell us. Some of his Disciples indeed ran into *Sabellianism*, as *Theodoret* says in the Place before cited ; some of them, with *Sabellius*, denied the three Persons of the Divinity, and said that the same was Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." To *Valesius*'s Observations, I will add another, That *Tertullian* in his Book against *Praxeas* (which was wrote after he was a *Montanist*) very briskly opposed *Sabellianism*. *Praxeas* then held what *Sabellius* afterwards embraced. It is therefore certain that neither *Montanus* nor his first Followers agreed with *Sabellius* in the Doctrine of the Trinity. If *Sandius* had known this, he would easily have corrected the many Mistakes made by him in his Account of *Montanus* and his Heresy. What *Sandius* ⁵ means in making *Theodotus*, who taught the mere Humanity of Christ in the time of Pope *Victor*, a Defender of the *Homousion* is difficult to find out. Surely it never before entred into the Thoughts of either antient or modern to charge him with the *Homousion*. Lastly, as for the *Manichees*, St. *Augustin* says (as *Sandius* himself cites it) that they confessed Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be of the same Nature. What then, what is that to his Purpose ? Is there any thing greatly commendable in the *Manichees* for this Confession, when (according to the same *Sandius*) they thought Angels and humane Souls of the Substance of God ? This shall suffice for the Sense of the *Homousion* ; let us proceed now to the Matter in hand.

¹ See Section 3. Chap. 1. n. 15, 16. ² *Socrates* book 1. chap. 23. p. 48. *Sozomen*. book 2. chap. 18. p. 381. ³ In *Hæresi Montanistarum* Epiphan. ⁴ *Theodoret*. in lib. 3. *Hæreticar. Fabul.* ⁵ Lib. 1. *Enucl. Hister.*

16. We affirm that it was the constant and consentient Testimony of the Catholic Doctors in the three first Centuries, That the Son of God was consubstantial, in the Sense aforesaid, with the Father, *i. e.* not of any created mutable Essence, but absolutely of the same Divine immutable Nature with the Father, and therefore God. Now these Antients prove this Point several Ways; as (1.) When they affirm him not only begotten, and produced by, but also of, the Father. For that is a most certain Axiom, that what is begotten of God, is God. (2.) When they call the Son the true, genuine, proper, natural Son of God. (3.) When they use Similitudes by way of Illustration. Thus they say, the Son is of the Father, as the Branch of the Root, the River of the Fountain, and the Ray of the Sun. Now these are plain of the same Nature; so also are the Father and Son; but no Similitude is so familiar with them, none pleases so well as *Light of Light*, upon which account the *Nicene* Fathers inserted it into their Creed, as explanatory of their *Homousion*. (4.) When they exempt him out of the Number of Creatures, and deny that he is one: For there is nothing between God and a Creature. (5.) When they give to the Son of God the proper Attributes of the only true God. (6.) And lastly, when they expressly call him not only God, but the true God, by Nature God, one God with the Father. In many of the Fathers all the Arguments for the *Homousion* occur, in all of them many. Now let us hear what they say.

C H A P. II.

The Doctrine of the Author of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, Hermas, or the Pastor, and Ignatius the Martyr, concerning the true Divinity of Christ.

I Will begin with the Apostolical Writers. The Author of an Epistle ascribed to *Barnabas*, in the Places above cited for Proof of the Son's Pre-existence, excellently

ly declares his real Divinity. For there he calls the Son Lord of the whole Earth, and that antecedently (as they speak) to the Dispensation of our Salvation. He says that the Glory of Jesus is so great, that by him, and for him are all; *i. e.* all things are made by him as their efficient Cause, all things tend to him as their End; what can't be said of any Creature without Blasphemy. To which you may add a remarkable Passage of the same Epistle, ¹ where he teaches, that the Lord, who foreknew all things, therefore said that he would *take away from his People the stony Heart, and would give a new, a fleshy Heart*, because he was to be manifested in the Flesh, and to dwell among us. *My Brethren, the Habitation of our Hearts is a holy Temple to the Lord.* There he expressly speaks of the Lord, who manifested himself in the Flesh or humane Nature, *i. e.* of the Son of God, and informs us, that he *dwells in the Hearts of the Saints, as in Temples consecrated to God.* These Words are so clear that they need no Comment, and many of this kind are to be seen every where in this Epistle.

2. *Hermas*, whose Antiquity and Authority we have fully proved before, teaches the same Doctrine very clearly. For besides what has been shewn above out of the ninth *Simil.* that *the Son existed before all Creatures, was with the Father, was his Counsellor in the Creation of all Things*; (enough to satisfy all sober Persons of our Lord's Divinity; for who can think any but God can be of Counsel to God?) in the same *Simil.* he attributes to him the Support of all Things, (a Work truly divine) and Immensity (which is proper to the Divinity alone). The Words are these: ² *The Name of the Son of God is great and immense, and the whole World is sustained by him.* And a little after, [†] *Every Creature of God is sustained by his Son*; where he plainly

¹ Pat. Ap. Vol. I. p. 19. ² Ib. S. 14. p. 116. Sim. 9. [†] Dr. Whitby, p. 10. denies this Distinction, and says, by [omnis Dei Creatura] is only meant all Christians, but from the Words cited by the Doctor, the contrary is plain. For first it is asserted, that all the World, every Creature, is sustained by him; and then the *Querist* says, If every thing, if all the World, why not Christians especially? To which it is answered, He sustains them also: But the Dr. has thought fit to drop the [eti- am].

plainly distinguishes the Son of God from every Creature of God. The same *Hermas* expressly denies that the Son of God is in the State or Condition of a Servant. Thus when he asks, ¹ *Why is the Son of God placed, in the Similitude, in a servile State?* The Pastor answers, *That the Son of God is not in a servile State, but in great Power and Majesty.* Now to be placed in a servile Condition, and to be a Creature are Expressions equivalent; for every Creature stands in the Relation of a Servant to God his supreme Lord. So the Author of a Book, intitled, *The Exposition of the Faith*, ascribed to *Justin*,² “Whatsoever is, is either uncreated or created. That which is uncreated is “supreme, and under no Necessity; what is created is servile, and subject to the supreme Laws. The one by his “Power does and can do what he pleases; the other can only “perform and fulfil that ministerial Work he has received “of God.” Hence the Apostle in his Epistle to the³ *Philippians*, (a Place, if duly weighed, sufficient to bear down all Heresies against the Person of our Lord Christ) opposes *the Form of a Servant to the Form of God*; by the Form of a Servant understanding (not that Misery he underwent for our Salvation, whilst he was scourged, spit upon and crucified; for that greater Degree of Humiliation is afterward distinctly expressed in the same Place, but) the humane Nature, in the Likeness of which Christ is said to be made, in the Words immediately following, and manifestly added by way of Explanation, for this Reason,

am]. He goes on, “Suppose the Distinction true, the Consequence is “not good. For in another Place (lib. 1. Vis. 3. n. 4.) *Hermas* writes “thus: Who are these young Men that build? They are the Angels “of God, who were first made by him, and to whom he has given “the Power of edifying and governing *Universam Creaturam*. But “this does by no means prove that these Angels are God, are distinct “from all Creatures.” How strangely the Dr. has misplaced his Criticism! *Universa Creatura* in this latter Passage is the Church only, and these Angels the chief Builders of it upon Christ the Foundation, not only the Support of his Church, but *totius Orbis, omnis Creaturæ*. These are common Failings in this learned *Animadverter*. By all means consult *Hermas* concerning this Place, and believe your own Eyes.

¹ p. 105. Simil. 5. ² Justin. Mart. p. 374. ³ Ch. 2. v. 6, 7.

that every Man, whosoever, nay every Creature, compared to God, stands in the Relation of a Servant.

3. This remarkable Place of *Hermas* is cited by *Petavius* to prove the true Divinity of our Lord ; but the Author of the *Irenicum* ¹ will have it to be a Jesuitical Fraud. Thus he bespeaks him : “ But here, *Petavius*, if you had
 “ not rather intended to deceive than to inform, you ought
 “ to have added, of what Power, of what Rule the *Pastor*
 “ spoke ; namely, not of a Power or Dominion equal to
 “ the Father’s, but of that Power he gave him after his
 “ Death over his People, which he had also given him ; and
 “ over whom Christ set Doctors.” Upon this account he says, that Christ neither was, nor was introduced as a Servant, but as the Lord of his People. But here, my nameless Friend, you’re catch’d in your own Snare. If your Intentions had been honest, you should have given your Reader *Hermas* entire, and added the Words which have a necessary Connection with those produced by you. The Case is thus : In the fifth *Simil.* the *Pastor* had represented our Saviour Christ in a double Capacity, as the Son of God, and as the Servant of God. For so he explains the Parable of the Son and the Servant. Now, says he, the Son is an Holy Spirit, and that Son of God is a Servant ; that is, the Son of God, whom he calls an holy Spirit, and also had represented as a Servant, are the same. By both he understands our Saviour, who is by him called the Son of God, and a Servant, but upon different Accounts. He calls him the Son of God, because of that holy Spirit, that divine Nature, the *Logos*, which was united in one Person to the Man Christ, intimately and inexpressibly. He calls him a Servant in respect of his Body, that humane Nature he put on, and in which he took upon him the Form of a Servant. It is a common thing with the *Pastor* to consider him in a double Capacity, because of his two Natures, even in this same Similitude, where we find the Words in Controversy. Thus he represented him in the ninth Similitude as an *old Rock*, because the Son of God, and existent be-

fore every Creature ; as a *new Gate*, because made Man in the last Days. *Hermas* not able to understand how the same Person should be the Son of God, and the Servant of God asks the Pastor, why the Son of God is plac'd in a servile State ? To this Question the Pastor returns the Words cited by our anonymous Author, concerning all Power given to Christ by his Father, &c. But this is not all, for the Words which follow, and which our Author did not find it convenient to cite, give a more full and distinct account of this Matter. The Pastor there distinguishes betwixt the Holy Spirit, or the Divine Nature in Christ, and the Body of Christ, or his humane Nature, and expressly teaches, that, the servile State in which he had plac'd him, was only to be refer'd to his Flesh, his humane Nature. For after he had spoke of the Spirit, *which was first of all infus'd into the Body, in which God would dwell*, he adds, ¹ *This Body, into which the Holy Spirit was brought, served that Holy Spirit walking uprightly in Modesty, and chastly, nor ever defil'd that Spirit. When therefore that Body had constantly obey'd the Holy Spirit uprightly, and chastly, had labour'd with it, and never yielded, the Body fatigued, was in a servile State, but being greatly approv'd by the* ² *Spirit was receiv'd up by God.* In which Words it is clear that the Pastor speaks of the humane Nature of Christ, and says of the Body only that it was in a servile State ; and that after, and upon the Account of fulfilling that Servitude, it was approved with the Holy Spirit, or *Logos*, and received by God, that is, promoted to the Right-hand of the Divine Majesty in the highest. Hence the Pastor represents the Exaltation of the Man Christ by a Servant, whom his Master, God the Father, because of his good Service would make Joint-heir with his Son. By the Servant he understood the humane Nature, by the Son the divine. Then was the Servant made Joint-heir with the Son, when the Body, or

¹ Patr. Apost. Vol. i. p. 105 and 106. ² He seems here to allude to the Words of St. Paul (1 Tim. iii. 16.) He was justify'd by the Spirit, and received into Glory.

humane Nature of Christ. after the Resurrection was placed at the Right hand of God, and made Partaker, as far as it could be so, of the same Glory and Honour, which the Son of God had with his Father before the World was. The Author of the Epistle said to be *Barnabas's*, a Contemporary with *Hermas*, when he after his allegorical Manner explains the Words of Christ by the Prophet, has the same Notion. ¹ The Words are, *Jacob is to be praised over all the Earth.* The Exposition: *This is intended of the Vehicle of his Spirit, or Divinity, which he would glorify.* Whosoever will read the fifth Similitude with Care, will find that I have given the true Sense of the *Pastor's* Words. From the Premises then it is manifest the *Pastor* taught, That the Son of God, as the Son of God, and God, neither is, nor ever was in the Form or Relation of a Servant to God the Father; nor ever was any otherwise a Servant than as he freely took upon him our Flesh. I may here justly retort upon himself, what our anonymous Writer says to *Petavius*. "Thus and thus our Author speaks of the Son; he says quite the contrary to what you make him say."

4. I am asham'd and griev'd to mention the Testimonies, which *Sandius*, and the Author of the *Irenicum* have brought against these clear and express ones of *Hermas* for the Catholic Doctrine; but however, that we may not seem to make any Demurr, or to neglect them, they shall be produc'd. Both of them object the Words of *Hermas* himself. Believe ² that there is one God, who appointed all Things, and brought them into being, who contains all Things, but himself is not comprehended by any. I cannot guess what these Sophists can draw from this Passage for their Purpose, unless they think it is impossible any one should believe one God, and also own a consubstantial Trinity of Persons. But here they are greatly mistaken, for all Catholics at this Day believe both. The Primitive Catholic Church also has profess'd the same in her Rule of Faith, as *Tertullian* says, ³ We believe one God

¹ Pat. Ap. Vol. i. p. 38.

² p. 85. Mandat. i. is intended, but the Words are not cited with any Exactness.

³ p. 501. adv. Prax.

(under this Dispensation, which we call Oeconomy) but so, as that there is also a Son of this one God, his Word, which proceeded from him, &c. And a little after, One is all, because all proceed from one by an Unity of Substance; and nevertheless the Mystery of the Oeconomy is preserved, which directs us to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Indeed the Author of the *Irenicum* and *Sandius* seem to have been of the Opinion of those imprudent foolish Men, in the same Place noted by ¹ *Tertullian*, who are afraid of the Oeconomy, because the Rule of Faith brings us off from the many Gods of the Heathens to the one true God, not understanding that the one true God is to be believed, as this Oeconomy directs. They presume the Number and Disposition of the Trinity to be a Division of the Unity, whereas the Unity, deriving the Trinity from it self, is not destroy'd, but dispens'd by it. But whatsoever these modern Opiniators may think, it is plain that our *Hermas*, a Writer of the Apostolical Age, was acquainted with this Dispensation. *The Pastor* so believ'd one God, so taught this Belief, as that he own'd the Father of all Things had a Son, who existed before all Creatures, who advis'd and co-operated with him in making the World, who was immense as his Father, and supported the whole World by his Almighty Word, who in himself and his own Nature had not the Relation of a Servant to God the Father, as is plain from the fore-cited Passages of *Hermas*.

5. It is strange to see what the Author of the ² *Irenicum* produces against the Catholics from *Hermas*. What say you to it, says he, that 'tis plain from the 5th Simil. That the Son of God was either only own'd by him, as a Man, or at least believ'd to be inferior to the Father, yea the Holy Spirit? For in the Place cited, he not only represents him as the Father's Servant, but as a Servant of the Holy Spirit, and obedient to him. For he says, that the Body of Christ, or of the Son of God, into which an Holy Spirit was infused, was subject to this Spirit, &c. I can't but

admire his Stupidity, for first, if it should be granted that by Holy Spirit in this Place is meant the third Person of the Trinity, what will his impious desperate Cause gain by it? Nothing: No Man sure can be so blind, as not to see that *Hermas* in that Place expressly speaks of the humane Nature only; and what wonder, since that is a Creature, if it be said to be obedient to the Holy Spirit? (2dly,) I have largely and clearly shewn that we must by *Holy Spirit* understand here the Divine Nature in Christ, the *Logos*, which is most properly call'd the Son of God. The Series of the Parable makes this so clear, that I wonder *Petavius* did not see it. What is said afterwards might perhaps blind him, namely, that *Hermas* says in the same Place, that the Holy Spirit dwells in our Bodies. But here it may be said that the *Pastor* made a sudden Transition to another Sense of the Words; or, which I rather think, we may understand it in such a Sense, as every Christian is said to be the Dwelling or Temple of the Holy Trinity. Certainly the *Logos*, which adheres to the Man Christ in the greatest and most excellent Communion (so *Origen* somewhere expresses the Hypostatical Union) as he is every where by his own Force and Power, so by a peculiar manner of Presence, he fixes his Seat, his Dwelling ~~of~~ the Hearts of the Pious. Hence *Ignatius*, speaking of the Son of God, exhorts the Saints after this manner. *Let us do all Things, as though he dwelt in us, that we may be his Temples, and he in us our God;* and *Barnabas* has said above, that our Heart is *the Dwelling and Temple of the Son of God*. So *Justin Martyr* ² says, that *God the Father does fix his holy and incomprehensible Logos, sent down from Heaven to Men, in their Hearts*. From hence indeed it is manifest, that all the most ancient Doctors of the Church believ'd the Son of God to be true and very God. I shall only observe one thing more concerning this Author, that *Petavius*, ³ otherwise a

¹ Pat. Apost. Vol. 2. p. 15. See Apocalypse iii. 20. John xiv. 23. Ephes. iii. 17. ² p. 498. ³ Præfat. in Tom. 2. Dogm. Theolog. cap. 2. S. 6.

rigid Censor of the Fathers in this Question) fairly owns that this *Hermas* was not accus'd of any Heresy or false Doctrine, especially relating to the Trinity by any antient Catholic Writer; which is very true and worth our Notice. As for what *Sandius*, a late trifling Scribbler says of him, namely, that he taught that *the Holy Spirit does not speak* ¹ *to Man, when he will, but when God will*, it is very frivolous. Consult the Place, and you'll find that the Words [*when he will*] are not to be referred to the Holy Spirit, as *Sandius* refers them, but to Man, to whom the Holy Spirit speaks.

6. *Ignatius* comes next. He in his genuine Epistles, published by *Isaac Vossius* (which are the only Epistles I shall make use of in this Work) every where clearly expresses the true Divinity of the Son of God. Thus he begins his Epistle to the *Smyrneans*: ² *I glorify Jesus Christ [my] God, who has made you so wise.* In the Salutation of the Epistle to the *Ephesians* ³ he calls them *predestinated and electe* ⁴ *by the Will of the Father, and Jesus Christ our God.* In the Epistle it self, ⁵ *Nothing is hid from our Lord, but our Secrets are near him. Let us do all Things, as though he dwelt in us, that we may be his Temples, and he in us our God: which is, and which we shall see, if we love him as we ought.* It is undoubted that *Ignatius* here speaks of Christ, because of the word [*Lord*] by which he always denotes Christ, and from the whole Context of the Epistle, which only treats of our Saviour. Again, ⁶ *Suffer me to be an Imitator of the Passion of Christ, my God.* Again very remarkably, ⁷ where he thus speaks of Christ; *There is one Physician, carnal and spiritual, made, and not made, ⁸ God incarnate, true Life in Death, both of Mary and of God.* The Translation of *ἡμῶντος καὶ ἀγέννητος*, made

¹ p. 99. Mand. 12. S. 1.

² Pat. Ap. Vol. 2. p. 34.

³ p. 11.

⁴ p. 15. S. 15.

⁵ Vide *Grabii* Annotat. p. 47. Pat. Ap. p. 29. ubi plura hujusmodi Testimonia ex *Ignatio* proferuntur.

⁶ p. 13.

⁷ *Athanasius, Theodoret, and Gelasius* read, instead of God incarnate [*God in Man*].

⁸ For this Reading, not the other [true Life in the immortal] we have the Authority of *Athanasius, Theodoret and Gelasius*, as well as the Sense of the Place, which requires it.

and

and not made, I approve of, *Gelasius* is my Author; the Sense requires it, and every one knows that the *Greeks* use *γεννητός* and *γεννητός* promiscuously, altho' most of the Catholic Writers, especially since the third Century, have distinguished more nicely upon the Question of our Lord's Divinity. In *Theodore*¹ it is read *γεννητός ἐξ ἀγεννήτου*, but the Reading which we follow is confirmed by the *Medicean Greek Copy*, *Usher's old Latin Version*, *Athanasius*,² and *Gelasius*³. The Opposition which is made all along between the two Natures of Christ, and the Attributes of both speak for it. *Theodore's* Reading spoils that. I am altogether of Opinion that *Theodore* followed a Copy wrote out by some Novice, who thought *ἀγεννή* & must needs signify one who has no Principle of Existence, was of himself (which belongs to the Father only) and therefore presumed to change *ἀγεννή* & into *ἐξ ἀγεννήτου*. For the same Reason the Interpolator of the Epistles of *Ignatius* leaves the Words out⁴, and good Cause, for in the Epistle to the *Trallians*, he curses those who call the Son of God *ἀγεννητόν*⁵, in that Sense, namely, in which it is proper to the Father, *i. e.* who don't distinguish between the Father and Son; upon which account also he sets something of his own concerning God the Father before that Place of *Ignatius*, in which he says that he only is *ἀγεννητός*. Had *Sandius*⁶ understood these things, he might have saved his own Pains upon the Word, and his Reader's too. The true Reading thus established, it is plain *Ignatius* has in these Words nick'd the *Arian* Blasphemy. For here Christ is not only owned as God, truly immortal, formerly incarnate; but also is expressly said to be not made, *i. e.* uncreated. Thus the great *Athanasius* has excellently expressed the Meaning of *Ignatius*,⁷ and critically distinguished the two Senses of the Word *ἀγεννήτος*, or *ἀγενής*, according as the Antients used it: "We are persuaded that the
" blessed *Ignatius* wrote orthodoxly, when he says the Son

¹ Dial. 1. ² De Synodis. ³ De duabus Naturis. So Ter-
tullian also. See Chap. 7, of this Section, n. 3. ⁴ p. 48. Sect. 7.
⁵ p. 65. S. 6. ⁶ Enecl. Histor. p. 71. ⁷ Ed. Bened. Tom.
prim. part. secunda, p. 761.

“ was made because of his Flesh, for *Christ was made Flesh*;
 “ that he was not made, because not one of the Creatures, but
 “ the Son from the Father. And we know that some, who
 “ have said there is only one unmade or unbegotten, mean-
 “ ing the Father, have not wrote so, because the Son is a
 “ Creature, but because the Father hath no Author, or
 “ Cause, is himself the Father of Wisdom, and made all
 “ the Creatures in Wisdom.” We shall say more of *Ignatius*
 when we come to speak of the Coeternity of the Son.

7. I must now speak to the Author of the *Irenicum*,
 and *Sandius*. *Petavius* had cited this remarkable Place of
Ignatius, out of *Athanasius* and *Theodoret*, and some other
 Passages out of *Theodoret* only. What the Author of
 the *Irenicum* Objects to them is very impudent; ¹ *What*
Petavius cites from Theodoret, and what to him seems most
genuine, may be understood of the Man Christ only, as be-
gotten by the Spirit of God. Then we may find any mean-
 ing we please in any Word. For this Reason I suppose
 this Author, not daring to abide by this answer invents
 another very agreeable to his desperate Cause. The Pla-
 ces alledg'd from *Theodoret* can't demonstrate that the
 Profession of two Natures in Christ, was from the Tra-
 dition of Christ and his Apostles. For why might not
 that Profession, though so antient, proceed from some
 false Christ, or false Apostle, not from Christ and his
 Apostles; as some odd, insipid Opinions of *Ignatius*, and
 other Antients did, which *Petavius* himself rejects? This
 is a very *Proteus*. There is no dealing with such an Ad-
 versary. He affirms *Justin* to be the first Author of this
 Opinion concerning the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ.
 We on the other Hand demonstrate it to be older than
Justin, and that *Ignatius* a Contemporary of the Apostles
 held it. Then he miserably tortures the Words of *Ignatius*,
 and at last diffident of his Comment, is so mad as
 to say, it is probable *Ignatius* was impos'd upon by some
 false Apostle. An Apostle, I believe, would have far'd no
 better: nay, Experience proves that these Sectaries make

¹ *Irenic.* p. 27.

no account of the Apostolical Writings (as clear in this Point as the Fathers) that they prodigiously deprave, and wrest them from the manifest Sense of the Words, by their Interpretations, and use all the Art and Industry they can to elude the Credit and Authority of them. If these Heretics would openly profess this Doctrine deliver'd by the Apostles, and all the Doctors of the Church, to be repugnant to right Reason, (to themselves, who are so far from comprehending the Divine Nature, &c. that they can't explain that of the meanest Animal) and therefore call in question the Christian Religion (confirm'd by so many and so great Miracles, and sufficiently approving it self to us in all Points of Virtue and Morality by its native Light and Authority) their Impiety would be much the same, but their Candor and Ingenuity much greater. But this Author says: *Ignatius has some odd, silly Opinions, which we our selves don't admit.* Shew them in the genuine Epistles, and we yield: But indeed none of the bitterest Adversaries of that Collection of *Polycarp's* (not *Blundel*, *Salmasius*, *Daille*, or his anonymous Defender) have hitherto produc'd any thing out of it, which those very learned Men, *Usher*, *Vossius*, *Hammond*, and *Pearson* have not shewn to be very undeservedly censur'd. Besides, if *Ignatius* had deviated from the Apostolical Doctrine in some smaller Matters, is it therefore probable that he was so grievously mistaken in a Point of so great Importance? Can any one so much as suspect that he, who convers'd so familiarly with the true Apostles of Jesus Christ, and who was undoubtedly a Martyr for their Faith, should be deceiv'd in the chief Doctrine of Christianity? If he can, he must have strong Prejudices.

8. I now come to *Sandius*.^{*} He speaking of *Ignatius* conceals the Testimonies I have brought for the Catholic Doctrine out of the genuine Epistles, and endeavours to confirm the *Arian* Blasphemy by many Places alledg'd by him out of the interpolated and spurious ones. Any

one would believe he had never seen the Editions of *Usher* and *Vossius*, or never read the Writings of those learned Men *Hammond* and *Pearson* upon them; and yet in the same Place, and in others, treating of *Ignatius* he mentions both these Editions; nor is it to be doubted whether he had read *Hammond* and *Pearson*, when both were publish'd 1672. four Years before the second Edition of his Ecclesiastical History. For the sake of those who are not well acquainted with these Matters, I will briefly and impartially give an account of the whole Matter. The *Latin* Epistles under the Name of *Ignatius* are now rejected by the consent of both Popish and Reformed Critics. Besides these are twelve in *Greek*, seven of which *Eusebius* mentions, but not the other five. Those seven are, 1. *To the Ephesians*. 2. *The Magnesians*. 3. *The Trallians*. 4. *The Romans*. 5. *The Philadelphians*. 6. *The Smyrnaans*. 7. *To Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna*. The other five are, *To Maria Cassabolita*. 2. *To the Tarsenses*. 3. *The Antiochians*. 4. *To Hero the Deacon*. 5. And *to the Philippians*. Of the seven there are two Editions, one more antient; another set forth by *Isaac Vossius* from the *Medicean* Copy. Of the five not taken notice of by *Eusebius*, thus the learned *Pearson* very truly says: " ' It seems to be a right Distinction, which is made " between the seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius*, and " often cited by other antient Fathers, and the five which " were not own'd by any *Greek* Writer till some Ages " after, and therefore are justly question'd, and plainly " rejected: and that not only because it is not proba- " ble that they should escape *Eusebius*, if they had been " extant, or have been omitted by him, if he had known " of them; but also, because they greatly differ from " them in Style, and Matter, are more consonant to the " Doctrine, Institutes and Customs of the Church in " latter Days, and only like those of *Eusebius* in an over- " affected Imitation." What *Sandius*² says, that no

¹ In Proœmio ad. Vind. Ignat. C. 4.
p. 18.

² De Scriptor. Eccles.

Man can doubt whether the five are *Ignatius's*, because so like the former seven unquestioned Epistles in the Style, is only another Specimen of his Folly, or Impudence. For if he means by the unquestioned Epistles, the seven mentioned by *Eusebius*, as they were extant before *Vossius* publish'd them, it is true, there is a great Resemblance between them and the other five: Nor is it to be admir'd. *Usher* thought, and it is a plain Case, that the same Impostor interpolated the genuine Epistles, and added the rest. But the Case is otherwise with the *Vossian* Edition, a judicious Man will find them widely different both in Doctrine and Style. The Person who huddled up the five, has made use of some Forms of Composition and Speech familiar to the true *Ignatius*. In this only, there is some Resemblance. But they are so affected, so unseasonably placed, that they betray what they would conceal. Besides, *Sandius* thus argues: "From the Epistle to the *Philippians*, (one of the five which we reject) "*Origen* cites something in his sixth *Homily* upon *Luke*; "this clears its Authority." Here the Sophist is playing his old Game. These are the Words of *Origen* concerning *Ignatius* and his Epistle, in his sixth *Homily* upon *Luke*, "I have found it elegantly written in the Epistle of a "certain Martyr, I mean *Ignatius*, the second Bishop "of *Antioch* after *St. Peter*, who in the Persecution fought "with Beasts at *Rome*, *The Prince of this World knew "nothing of the Virginity of Mary.*" Here is not one Word of the Epistle to the *Philippians*; but in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*,¹ one of the *Eusebian* seven, we have this Passage Word for Word; not as by the Impostor, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, changed into a ridiculous Apostrophe to the Devil: *There are many things thou knowest not, the Virginity of Mary, the glorious Birth, &c.* To dismiss this Author a little while, worthy the Hatred of all that love Truth and Candour, let us return to the Right Reverend Bishop *Pearson*. He thus explains his own Judgment, and that of other learned Men, concerning the fe-

¹ Patr. Apost. Vol. 2. p. 16.

ven Epistles known to *Eusebius*, as extant in *Greek* before *Vossius* published them: “ It has been well observed by many learned Men, that the seven most antient and genuine Epistles in the common *Greek* Edition of that Time (before that of *Vossius*) were interpolated and corrupted: This is plain both from the Places cited by the antient Fathers, and either not to be found, or not truly represented in these Editions; and from many other Things in them, which are neither agreeable to Antiquity, and the Opinion of *Ignatius*, nor inserted in their proper Places, according to the Tenor of the Epistles.” Now the same worthy Prelate has proved to all learned and impartial Men, that the *Vossian* Edition is genuine throughout the whole excellent Work; and, if *Sandius* can produce out of that Edition which is taken from the *Medicean* Copy, and agrees perfectly with the Citations of *Athanasius*, *Theodoret*, *Gelasius*, and other Antients, one Iota repugnant to the *Nicene* Creed, we will consent that *Ignatius*, that Apostolical Bishop and celebrated Martyr, is truly ranked amongst the Fore-runners of the impious *Arian* Herefy. But this he will never be able to do. *Sandius* will much sooner appear a scandalous Calumniator of the Holy Father, than he an *Arian*. In the mean time this I will put the Reader in mind of, that very many Passages are to be found in the Edition, *Sandius* cites, diametrically opposite to *Arianism*, and that those Passages he produces out of the same Epistles will, without Force, admit a Catholic Sense: This would be easily proved, if we had Leisure. So much for *Ignatius*. Hitherto we have heard the Testimony of the three Venerable Apostolical Writers in Confirmation of the *Nicene* Creed.

Dr.

Dr. GRABE's Annotations.

LUKE Mellier endeavours to enervate the Reverend Author's Argument from *Barnabas*, by the Lord, whose holy Temple our Heart is said to be, understanding not *Christ*, but the *Father*, and for that Purpose repeating the Words preceding his Citation thus : " The Lord saith, " *Behold, I make the last and the first.* For this Cause the " Prophet proclaimed, *Enter ye into the Land that flows with* " *Milk and Honey, and govern it. Behold then we are* " *formed anew,* as he speaks again in another Prophet, *Be-* " *hold,* says the Lord, *I will take from them,* i. e. from " those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, *the stony* " *Hearts, and I will put into them Hearts of Flesh,* because " he was about to appear in the Flesh, and to dwell in us." In which Words he all along takes the Father to be meant by the Lord, as he doth in those that follow, *For the dwelling Place of our Heart is a Temple to the Lord,* very absurdly indeed ; for the Connexion of the Text, and the causative Particle *ye* will satisfy any unprejudiced Person, that our Heart is called the Temple of that same Person, of whom it is immediately before said that he would dwell in us. Now that this is Christ incarnate our Adversary denies not ; but then to make good his own Sense he inserts between the Words [*he would dwell in us*] and the Words immediately following, this Paraphrase, *and would make of us a Temple and Sanctuary for God the Father, by that Appearance of his in the Flesh, and his dwelling in us.* But to have a Temple himself, and to make one for another are two things confounded by the Paraphrast. *Barnabas* speaks of the former only, he gives us the latter without any Authority ; nay, he opposes the latter to the former. A Liberty indeed ! At this rate whatsoever is properly and strictly spoken of one Person may be divided betwixt him and another.

Again, It is clear from the Words, *because he would appear,* &c. that by the Lord is meant Christ ; for who is this [*he*] ? The same whose Oracles *Barnabas* had before

cited from the Prophets; and this *Mellier* was aware of, when, without Fear or Shame, not content with the relative [*he*] implied, as directing the Reader to some Person before spoken of, *because he would appear*, &c. he thus interpolates, *because Christ would appear*, &c. This is plain from another Passage: *Again says the Lord*, &c. where by the *Lord* must be meant the Son of God, and therefore the same must also be meant in the former Passages cited out of the Prophets. *Mellier* would have it, that the *Lord* is not in the *Latin*, and therefore should not be in the *Greek*. It is a great deal to grant; but suppose we might mar the Original by thus bringing it to the Version, what would he get by it? Why then the Word [*again*] would stand in his Way, and plainly shew that the same Person, the Son of God is to be understood in the former Citations. The lowest Contrivance is, that in these Places it must be supposed that the Spirit of God spoke so and so under the Person of Christ, (not yet in being) but who was in time to exist.

3. Altho' these Arguments are clear enough, let us see what prevailed with our Adversary to understand in all the fore-cited Passages of *Barnabas*, God the Father under the Name of *Lord*. First then, because God the Father is introduced blessing Man in these Words, *1 Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth*, therefore the Words following must also be understood of God the Father. But between these two Places there are some Words in which *Barnabas*² says he is going upon new Matter. Again, it is not said, *the same Lord*, or *again the Lord*, but simply *the Lord says*. Well then, there is no Necessity from the preceding, to say, that it is the same Person who spoke in both Places; and I have proved that the following Words will not admit it. *Mellier's* second Argument is drawn from the Words, [*from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw*] which he thus explains, "The Spirit of God the Father, but not the Son of God, who did not then exist, and therefore could not then foresee." This is a gross begging the Questi-

¹ Patr. Apost. p. 19.

² Ibidem.

on, and is plainly confuted by St. *Peter* and *Barnabas*, St. *Peter* ¹ speaking of all the Prophets says, searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify, when it testified before-hand the Sufferings of Christ, and the Glory that should follow: *Barnabas* ² says, the Prophets having their Gifts from him, prophesy'd into him. Of which Words more anon. 4. The third Argument is taken from parallel Places, where *Barnabas* calls the faithful the Temple of God, not of Christ; but these things are not inconsistent, because, as St. *John* tells us, *chap. xiv. 23.* the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have the same Abode. St. *Paul* also in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* says they are the Temple of God, and in that to the *Ephesians* ³ he writes, That *Christ dwells in our Hearts by Faith*. Our Adversary objects, that tho' Christ doth dwell in us by Faith, we are no where called his Temple: Thus the Priest is said to dwell in the Temple, but yet the Temple is not called the Priest's, but God's. Now this is both false and foolish. You may often hear the Priest call the Church in which he officiates, his, but scarce ever find it said that he dwells in it; for the Temples are the Dwellings of God, not the Priest. However this be, it is certain the Hearts of the Faithful are his Temples, and that he dwells in them. Thus the Apostle proves that the *Corinthians* ⁴ are the Temple of the Living God, because God has said, *I will dwell in them, and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my People*. Compare with these the Passages of *Ignatius*, where, if I mistake not, with an Eye to the Apostle's Words, he expressly says, not only, that Christ dwells in us, but that we are his Temples, and he our God.

5. Not to trouble my Reader with a Passage alledged by the Reverend Author, but not insisted upon for the Proof of his Thesis, which *Mellier* has interpreted with no great Reason another Way, I proceed to vindicate the Passage cited S. 3. for the Proof of our Lord's Divinity. Now

¹ 1 Epist. i. 11. ² p. 61, Sect. 5. ³ Ephes. iii. 17. ⁴ 2 Cor. vi. 16. Lev. xxvi. 12.

Mellier conjectures that the *Latin*, the Prophets having their Gift from him, was falsely translated from some *Greek* Words that give this Sense, the Prophets having their Gift for him, for his sake, or upon his Account. What reason for this? Because *Chap. 7.* we find a like Mistake. But a Man of no great Skill in this Way, may see that the Translator read *ἐκ* not *ὑπὲρ*, and therefore translated *ab* not *propter*, which is a good Reason for thinking that it was also *ἐκ* in the Place we are concerned with¹. So *Irenaeus* seems to have read and cited *Barnabas*, "The Prophets receiving the Gift of Prophecy from the same Word, preached up his coming in the Flesh."² *Mellier* however goes on, *Grant*, says he, that the old Translator read *ἐκ*, and of consequence rendered truly *ab*, *Grotius* furnishes us with an Answer. He calls it the Spirit of Christ objectively, i. e. the Spirit presignifying the things of Christ, and which was given the Prophets upon his Account. Thus *Barnabas*: The Prophets having the Gift from him, prophesied of him. Therefore according to *Grotius* our Sense is true. For the Son of God, he who was to be the Son, I say, the Son of God, that Man Christ Jesus, though not yet existing, sent those Prophets; and it may be said that the Prophets had the Spirit from him, who was the Occasion of their having it, and without whose designed coming into the World, they had not had it. If this may be allowed, any thing may. Our Adversary should have produced out of *Barnabas*, or some other sacred or prophane Authors, a few Examples of this unusual Way of speaking, and I believe he would if he could. Surely no Man, who designed to shew that any thing was given or received for the sake of another, ever wrote that it was given or received by that other; nor did ever any Man so play with Words as *Mellier*, to say that a Person not yet in being sent others upon his Business. As for *Grotius*, it is plain he has put a Force upon the Words of *St. Peter*: whether he has done the same by *Barnabas* is not so clear,

¹ Compare p. 22. in the Greek with 62. in the old Latin. ² *Irenaeus* lib. 4. cap. 37. p. 371. Compare Chapter the 16th of the same Book, and the Notes upon n. 2. *Grabe's Edition*.

because

because he seems to have taken occasion from the latter Words [*prophecy'd of him*] for his Comment, rather than from the former [*having the Gift from him*]. But, be this as it will, I oppose *Irenæus's* Judgment, or that of any unprejudiced Reader, to his, and am fully persuaded that neither *Jew*, nor *Gentile* Believer, would ever take them in any other Sense than ours, according to the common Use of speaking.

6. Lastly, the Words of *Barnabas* are worthy notice, where he says, "Behold ¹ again Jesus (not the Son of *Nun*) in the *Greek* (the Son of Man, but) the Son of God appeared in the Flesh. He was therefore the Son of God before manifested in the Flesh." It is probable *Barnabas* had an Eye to *St. Paul* here, for both express themselves in the same *Greek* Word ². But *Barnabas* proceeds, "Because some might say that Christ was the Son of *David* [*only*] he (the Psalmist) fearing and foreseeing the Error of the wicked, adds, *The Lord said unto my Lord, &c.* In this saying of *David's* our blessed Lord insinuated his Divinity to the *Jews*." *Barnabas* adds also other Words of *Esaïas*, and thus concludes, "Ye see then the Prophets call him Lord, and (as it is in the *Greek*) the Son of God, not the Son only."

Of HERMAS.

1. **M**ELLIER opposes the Authority of *St. Paul* ³, saying that *God hath no Counsellor*, to the Title of *Counsellor of God* given to the Son by our Reverend Author from the Authority of the *Pastor*; whereas the Apostle denies it only with regard to any created Nature, not the Son amongst whose Titles *Esaïas* ⁴ reckons this to be one. Nor is it satisfactory that he objects to another Place, namely, *The Name of the Son of God is great and immense*, by qualifying it, is great and wonderful; because the Words immediately following force us to un-

¹ Patr. Apostol. p. 41.

² 1 Tim. iii. 16.

³ Rom. xi. 34.

⁴ Chap. ix. v. 6.

derstand a divine Immenfity : Thus, *And the whole World is fufained by him.* Again, *Every Creature of God is fufained by him.* Well then might our Author call this a Work truly divine. On the contrary our Adverfary muft be very absurd, to teach that the mere Man Chrift, even whilft in the Flefh, fupported all things by the Word of his Power. So far is this from the Scripture Doctrine ¹ that it tells us, Chrift, as Man, was fubject to Infirmities in the Flefh, at the time of his Paffion was comforted by a created Angel, and crucified thro' Weaknefs.

2. The Place of *Hermas*, where the Son of God is faid to be put in a fervile State, and that other, where our learned Author proves, that by *Holy Spirit* muft be meant the Son, who is God, *i. e.* a Spirit and Holy; thefe Paffages I fhall not much contend about. *Mellier* indeed fays that he, who is there called the Son, is nothing elfe but the Holy Spirit, *i. e.* the Afflatus or Power of God. To this I might answer, that that Perfon is called the Son of God (which Words are, in our Adverfary's own Opinion, catachrefically and improperly apply'd to the Holy Spirit) and it is alfo added, [*whom he loved and had his Heir*], and, that the *Man Chrift* *Jesus was made Coheir with him*, things no way agreeing to the third Perfon, but perfectly fuiting the fecond, the *Logos*. Again, this Son is faid to be of Council to God; but in another Place the *Pafior* fays this of the *Logos* or *Word*; the Context of which Paffage plainly fhews that *Jesus Chrift* is meant, and *Mellier* as well as *Zuicker* own it. Moreover in the fame Place it is faid of the Spirit that fpake to *Hermas*, that it was the Son of God. Our Adverfary confeffes this alfo, but then this Spirit, muft only be a mere Man, and *St. Paul* is to prove it, ² *He was made a living Spirit*. Omitting thefe and many other Arguments for our Author's Opinion;

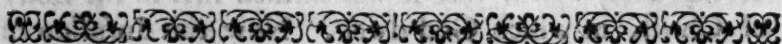
3. Omitting this whole Matter, nay, granting that the Son, in the Place before us called *Holy Spirit*, is not the *Logos* or fecond Perfon in the Trinity; from other Words in the fame Place, this may be proved. For the *Pafior* fays

¹ 2 Cor. xiii. 4.

² 1 Cor. xv. 45.

of that Holy Spirit, that it was infused first in the Body of Christ, in which God dwelt. Now this Infusion of the Holy Spirit is expressly distinguished from the Inhabitation of God. This Infusion is made preparatory to that Inhabitation. Hence I conclude that the Holy Spirit or Virtue of the Highest did not alone sanctify the Body of Christ, but that another Person, called by the *Pastor* God, the Son of God, dwelt in it, as our Adversaries must be forced to confess: For they as well as we deny, that God the Father is personally united to the humane Nature of the Son; and they can't say that he was only in Christ by the Spirit of the Divinity, without opposing *Hermas*, who makes that distinct from the Inhabitation of God. There is something more in *Mellier's* prolix Disputation worthy Animadversion, namely, against the Personality of the Holy Ghost; but in this Work that would be a Digression.

Authorities of *Ignatius*, besides those of our Author added by Dr. *Grabe*. In the *Epistle to the Ephes*. Our God Jesus Christ was conceived of *Mary* according to the Dispensation of God. *These Words are alledged by Theodoret, verbatim, in his first Dialogue. Thus again in the same Epistle: God being manifested in an humane Manner, &c. And again—Jesus Christ according to the Flesh of the Seed of David, the Son of Man, and the Son of God. In the Inscription to the Epistle to the Romans, Jesus Christ is twice called, Our God. (Tom. 1. Spicileg. Patrum. Sect. 2. p. 13.) And in the Epistle itself, (p. 14.) are these Words, though not taken Notice of by the Old Interpreter, or the Interpolator. For our God Jesus Christ, who is in the Father, &c. Lastly, in the End of the Epistle to Polycarp, I wish you always well in Jesus Christ our God. Compare the Annotations upon the following Chapter concerning Clement of Rome, Sect. 2.*



C H A P. III.

Clemens Romanus and Polycarp are by the way defended against the Calumnies of the Author of the Irenicum and Sandius.

T H E R E are two Fathers more of the Apostolical Age, *Clemens Romanus* and *Polycarp*. I have not mentioned either of them among the Apostolic Witnesses of Catholic Tradition; both because there is but little of theirs that is genuine remaining, and, because being engaged upon other Subjects, they have not spoke so clear and full to this Point. However, since the Author of the *Irenicum*, a *Socinian*, and *Sandius*, an *Arian*, have hence taken an Opportunity to force them into the Defence of their Cause, I think it proper briefly to obviate their Sophisms.

2. Both *Sandius* and the Author of the *Irenicum* have observed from *Petavius*, that *Clement* stands suspected by *Photius* ¹ of Heresy against the Divine Nature of Christ. Now *Photius* speaking of *Clement*, after censuring him for some other Matter, blames him for this, That after he has called our Lord Jesus Christ High-Priest and President, he does not speak more honourably and sublimely of him. Nevertheless he no where manifestly blasphemes him in these Points. Let this rigid Critic of the Antients bear the Infamy of his own Rashness; nor let any Man blame me in my Freedom with a modern Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for bringing an Apostolical *Roman* Patriarch under the Suspicion of † Heresy, without Reason or Reverence. I have

¹ Cod. 126. p. 306. † Whether Dr. Whitby lays the Heresy upon St. Paul or Clement I can't tell; but he makes them differ widely, and seems to assert St. Clement on his Side; because otherwise he would have wrote as St. Paul did. The Dr. sure must have a great Veneration for a Father, or a small one for an Apostle, or none for Religion.

always

always thought them very ridiculous who will forthwith suspect an Author of some Heresy or other, because they don't find every Christian Doctrine either touch'd or clearly explain'd in some little Epistle or Tract (the only one extant, and perhaps genuine) wrote by him; when neither the Subject requir'd it, nor was it the Author's Intention. But it is sufficient that by *Photius* his own Confession, *Clement* no where blasphemes the Lord Christ in this Epistle.

3. But dismissing *Photius*, I come to the Author of the *Irenicum*.¹ He thus argues, from *Clement's* first Epistle, against the Catholic Tradition. "It is certain *Clement*, if you search him through, always so speaks as to leave the Father the Prerogative, calling him God Almighty, the one God, the Maker of all things, &c. but only so describes Christ, as we have before said of *Hermas*, that you can scarce perceive he owns any thing in him but the humane Nature." What is here said of *Clement*, as insisting upon the Father's Prerogative, is of very little Weight with me. *St. Paul* (of whom I undoubtedly think, that he believ'd and taught our Lord's true Divinity) has done the same; all the Fathers also, those at, and after the *Nicene* Council. This I will clearly explain hereafter. As for what our anonymous Writer says of *Clement* and *Hermas*, I answer, for *Hermas*, I have before prov'd it notoriously false; for *Clement*, the Heretic has cautiously us'd the word [*scarce*]. It would have been too impudent to assert it absolutely. There are several Passages to the contrary in that Epistle. Thus among the great Gifts bestow'd upon *Abraham's* Family for his Faith, it is reckon'd², that from him Christ came, concerning the *Flesh*. In that restriction [concerning the *Flesh*] another Nature besides the humane is suggested. Again, it is very improbable *Clement* should only believe him a mere Man, whom he sets out in such magnificent Titles. Thus³ he calls him the Effulgence of the *Divine Greatness*; and prefers him before the Angels, because they are the Ministers of the God of all Creatures, but

¹ P. 23, 24.

² A. P. p. 164. §. 32.

³ P. 167. §. 36.

he, not a Servant, but a Son. Thus the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; betwixt which, and this of *Clement* there is such a Conformity of Matter and Style, that the learned *Junius* (as before him *Jerome* and other Antients) has suspected both of them to be wrote by the same Hand. Now it is plain that in the Words, *the Brightness of the Father's Glory*, *Heb. i. 3.* is intended, that Divine Nature and Majesty of the Son, which was with the Father before Ages, and which now sustains and governs all things by his mighty Power.

In another Place of the same Epistle *Clement* calls our Saviour, the *Sceptre of the Divine Greatness*. Which Place consider'd with the Scope, and Context, will sufficiently shew, what the Apostolical Man thought of Christ. There from the wonderful Example of Christ he exhorts the *Corinthians* to Humility and Modesty: *The Sceptre of the Divine Greatness our Lord Jesus Christ came not in Ostentation and Pride, though he might, but humble, &c.* I assure my self *Clement* here intended to express the Divine pre-existent Nature and Majesty of our Lord; and no Man can doubt it, who observed that *Clement* calls him the Sceptre, &c. before his coming into this World. For unless he was so, where is the Condescension celebrated so greatly by *Clement*? Moreover he proposes this Example of Condescension as infinite, what we may and ought to imitate, but never can equal. So *Matt. v. 48.* *1 Pet. i. 15, 16.* For thus, after the Testimonies of *Isaiah* and *David*, prophesying of Christ's Humility, he proceeds, ^a *Behold, Beloved, who is our Example. If the Lord so humble himself, what shall we do, who are under the Yoke of his Grace!* Where is the infinite Disparity, if Christ is only a mere Man? Parallel to this is that Place of *St. Paul* to the *Philippians*. What is there [*who being in the Form of God*] is here [*the Sceptre of the Divine Majesty*]; what is there [*he thought it not Robbery to be equal with God*] is here [*he came not in Ostentation and Pride, though he might.* As *St. Paul* commends his infinite Con-

^a P. 154. §. 16.

^b P. 155.

descension from this, that though he was in the Form of God, he made no shew of his Equality of Honour; for that is the meaning of [*he thought it not Robbery,*] &c. So *Clement* teaches that Christ, though really the Sceptre of the Divine Greatness, veiled his Majesty, when he came down to Men. So the Words, [*though he might, or could*]. Lastly, *St. Paul's* [*he emptied himself*] answers to *Clement's* [*he humbled himself*]. If you desire a clearer Interpretation of this Matter, see my Citation of *Justin* hereafter ¹.

§. There is another imperfect Epistle under *Clement's* Name, by ²*Eusebius* said to be; not so famous as the first. The first is indeed far Superior to it, in the Copiousness of Matter, and the Vigour of Style, and therefore by the Drs. of the Church more valu'd and cited. Hence *Jerome* and *Ruffinus*, no good Interpreters of *Eusebius* † in this Place, have told us this second was spurious and rejected. But I'll rather believe the Author than his Interpreters. The greater Reputation and the publick Use of the first made this to be questioned, and neglected, as I doubt not it affected the other Epistles of this Holy Man, which in Consequence were entirely lost. But certainly this second Epistle was publish'd under *Clement's* Name before *Eusebius's* Days ³; it was wrote to the *Corinthians*; it blames the same Error about the Resurrection of the Body, as the former; it is every where expressed in *Clement's* Manner; it has nothing novel, or unworthy *Clement* to make it suspected; and you may add, if you please, that both are equally receiv'd in the ⁴*Apostolical Canons*, by *Epiphanius*, &c. In the beginning of this ⁵ Epistle we read thus: *Brethren we ought so to think of Christ as of God.* And a little after, *We ought not to think meanly of our Saviour, for if we think meanly of him, we hope to receive little.* This is intended against the Heresy of *Cerintus* not unknown to *Clement* and the *Corinthians*. In the first Place it is to be observ'd that *Clement* here teaches, we

¹ Cap. 4. n. 7. of this §.

² Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Ch. 38. p. 88.

† *Eusebius* only says that he did not find it us'd by the Antients.

³ P. A. p. 449. Can. 76.

⁴ Can. Ult.

⁵ p. 184. Ibidem.

are not only to call Christ, God, (which neither the *Socinians*, nor *Arians* refuse) but really to think of him as God, distinct from a Creature, and that those who do not so, run the hazard of their Salvation. There is also a remarkable Place of this same Epistle, concerning the two Natures of Christ, the Divine, and the Humane. It is in the ninth Chapter ¹, where the Author treating of the Resurrection of the Flesh, says. "The Lord Jesus Christ " who sav'd us, and who was first a Spirit, was made Flesh, " and so called us; thus we also shall receive the Reward " in the same Flesh." Here he calls the Divine Nature of Christ, in which he subsisted before he took upon him Flesh, Spirit, according as I have shewn his Contemporaries to have done, the Author of the Epistle called *Barnabas's*, *Hermas*, *Ignatius*, and the inspired Writers of the new Testament themselves. To these by Way of Appendix you may add *Basil's* Citation ² of *Clement's* remarkable Testimony of the most Holy Trinity: "But " *Clement*, who is antienter, says, *God liveth, and the " Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit*; where no doubt " *Clement* uses the word [*Liveth*] in the same Sense, in " which the Scriptures say, *the living God*, distinguishing " him from the dead fictitious Deities of the Heathens. " He says then, that God the Father, and Jesus Christ " (the Spirit that subsisted before the Incarnation) and " the Holy Ghost, are, that living and true God, whom " all Men should worship, and adore, rejecting Idols." I know these Words are neither in the first Epistle, or the Fragment we have of the second: Whether they may be in that Fragment of the second which we have not, I don't know. But the Credit of the great and good Man *Basil* may extort our Consent, that thus that very antient Author wrote.

6. I proceed to *Sandius* ³, who accuses *Clement* of *Arianism* from the Books of the *Constitutions*. Surely he has made Shipwrack of all Modesty, as well as Faith and a good Conscience. The more learned Critics, Popish

¹ P. A. p. 187. ² Tom. 2. p. 358. ³ Eneucl. Hist. Eccl. L. 1. p. 67.
and

and Reformed deny these to belong to *Clement*. The thing it self speaks it. That a Man should pretend to give us the Marrow of History, and put off such Stuff to his Reader! After all, the Places by him alledg'd come not up to the Purpose: The Author might have an Eye in them to the Prerogative of the Father, as the Fountain of the Deity, or he might, in opposition to that Heresy *Sabellius* embrac'd, intend to distinguish the Son from the Father; as will easily appear if you consult the Places. I pretend not to defend what *Sandius* objects to this Author, namely, his Assertion, *That the Son was made of nothing, and that there was a Time when he was not*: But then I remember not any such Place; I think there is not any such, and am sure he teaches the direct contrary, *Book* ¹7. *Ch.* 41. the very Chapter *Sandius* reckons amongst those, in which *Clement* *Arianizes*. There he expounds the Profession of Faith to be made by a Person, to be baptiz'd, and thus speaks of God the Father, *I believe and am baptiz'd into one unbegotten, only, true God, Almighty, Father of Christ, Creator, and Maker of all Things*. Here you see God the Father is not strictly call'd Creator and Maker, but distinctly Creator and Maker of all Creatures. A little after he thus paraphrases the Article concerning the Son, *and into our Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, — begotten not made — by whom all Things were made*. What ridiculous Salvo shall we have to reconcile this with the *Arian* Doctrine? ² Again he says, *This is the Apostolical Faith, that there is one God, the Father of one Son, no more, and of one Comforter by the Son; the Maker of all other Orders of Being, one Creator, the Maker of divers Creatures by Christ*. Here he expunges the Holy Ghost out of the Rank of Creatures. To these add the Forms of Doxologies by him, cited out of the *Church Liturgies* ³ *with whom* [*Christ*] *Glory, Honour, Praise, Doxology, and Thanksgiving be to thee, and the Holy Ghost for ever, Amen*. Thus *B.* 8. *Ch.* 39. Again, *Ch.* 15. of the same Book, near the end, the same Doxology is

¹ P. A. p. 380. ² P. 340. *Ch.* 11. ³ P. 417. *Ch.* 39. 38. &c.

thus

thus express'd. *To Thee be Glory, Praise, Magnificence, Reverence, Adoration; and to thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and King; and to the Holy Ghost, now and always, and for Ages of Ages, Amen.* See other ¹ Places. Now in this Glorification, the same Honour, Glory, &c. is jointly and manifestly given to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Very well observ'd of the *Pneumatomachi* in St. Basil²: *We say that the Connumeration belongs to Equals, the Subnumeration to Inferiors.* Hence the *Arians* never willingly us'd this Form of Doxology, but chang'd [*with whom*] into [*by whom*] or [*in whom*], that they might denote an Inferiority in Nature, and consequently another Nature of the Son. Some also of the Catholics before the *Nicene Council* (as likewise the Author of the Constitutions) us'd [*by whom*]; and some [*by whom and with whom*], meaning that the Glory of the Father was manifested by the Son, and that the Glory of the Son did redound to the Father, as Fountain of the Deity, and yet that the Son ought to be ador'd with the Father, as of the same Nature and Majesty. To speak more clearly, the old Catholics, while they glorify'd the Father by the Son, had a Mind to signify the Son's Subordination, as Son, and the Father's Eminence, as Father; when they ador'd the Son with the Father, they intended to denote his Consubstantiality, his Subsistence with him in the same Essence. Moreover ³ *Ecclesiastical History* witnesseth that the *Arians* were quite out of Humour with the [*with whom*] and that they chang'd that receiv'd Form in the public Liturgies into [*by whom*] wherever they prevail'd: Nay ⁴ *Philostorgius* himself, the *Arian* Historiographer, writes that *Flavianus Antiochenus*, an Asserter of the *Nicene Faith*, having got together a great many Monks, first shouted, *Glory to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*; whereas before, some (which was more frequent) said *Glory to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy*

¹ p. 406. Ch. 15, 16. 18. 20, 21, 22. 29. 39. 41. ² De Spiritu Sancto, c. 17. ³ Socrates Lib. 2. Cap. 21. Sozomen Lib. 8. Cap. 8. Theodoret. in Cap. 1. Ep. 1. ad Corinthios, and Valesius upon both. ⁴ Philost. p. 486. Book 3. Ch. 13.

Spirit; and others, *Glory to the Father, in the Son, and Holy Ghost*. Where it is entirely false that *Flavianus* introduced the Form of Doxology [*with whom, &c*]. For the same was in Being and public Use before *Flavianus*, and therefore before the *Nicene Creed*, as is plain from the *Constitutions*; and I shall shew hereafter, that the same also was us'd by some of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, particularly *Clemens Alexandrinus* (who has paraphras'd it in such Terms as no *Arian* can digest). Lastly, it was also approv'd and us'd by the Apostolical Writers themselves, as I shall shew by and by from *Polycarp*. In the mean Time you may hence learn, how greatly the *Arians* dislike'd this Form. I now return to *Sandius*, who endeavours to shew *Clement* was an *Arian* from the *Recognitions*, a Book no sober Man will ever seriously affirm to be his, a Book by all learned Men exploded and rejected.

7. I proceed to *Polycarp*. *Sandius* has only this Stricture upon him, That in his Epistle to the *Philippians* he often distinguishes Christ from God; but the Author of the *Irenicum* † urges it at large, and brings him in an Advocate for the *Socinians*, thus discoursing, “ We have nothing of this *Polycarp*’s, except an Epistle to the *Philippians*, and a few Fragments preserved by *Eusebius*. In this Epistle we have nothing to shew that Christ is God; nay, Christ is not only always distinguish’d from the Almighty God (who is also called the God of our Lord Jesus Christ) but he is perpetually (as above in *St. Clement*’s Epistle) brought in as a Man only, who came in the Flesh, was made Minister of all, was rais’d and exalted by God, who was our Lord and High Priest, in whom therefore we all ought to believe.” First then for the Epistle, suppose there were nothing in it that argues the Divinity of our Lord; would it follow that therefore he did not own it? Is it necessary that every one, who believes Christ to be God, should profess it as often as he

‡ Eneucl. Hist. Lib. 1. p. 75. † Page 21. Mol. Disq. As almost every where else the Learned Dr. Whitby makes his Adversaries Sabellians without any Proof of it, before he can charge them with any Absurdity.

writes a Letter? How many long Epistles of Ecclesiastical Writers who believed the Divinity of the Son, may you read, in which there is not a Syllable to that purpose? We have a pretty long Epistle of St. Cyprian's to *Antonianus*, in which he does not say any Thing expressly of Christ as God, nay, distinguishes him from God. Now suppose we had lost all his other Epistles, would it not be a great Injury to the Holy Martyr, if any Man should from this surviving Epistle gather, that he denied the Divinity of the Son? It would without doubt; for we assuredly know from his other Writings that he owned it. *Irenæus*¹ testifies, that *Polycarp* wrote other Epistles to the neighbouring Churches and certain Brethren, in which the Purity of his Doctrine is seen. What if in them he has declared his Belief of the Divinity of Christ? Now *Jerome*² reckons *Polycarp* amongst the antient Apostolical Authors, who confuted the Heresy against the Divinity of our Lord, first defended by the Jewish Christian *Ebion*, and the Gentile Christian *Theodotus Byzantinus*. His Words against *Helvidius* are these: "Could I not raise against thee a whole
 " Succession of antient Writers, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*,
 " *Justin Martyr*, and many other Apostolical and Eloquent Men, who wrote Volumes, fraught with Wisdom, against *Ebion* and *Theodotus Byzantinus*³, Men of
 " the same Opinion; Volumes, which if you would
 " sometimes read, you would be wiser?" And it is very likely, that those five fine Fragments, which are cited by *Victor* Bishop of *Capua* One Thousand One Hundred Years ago, and publish'd by *Fenardentius*, at the end of his Notes upon *Irenæus*, from a very old Manuscript, were taken from some other lost Epistles of *Polycarp*. In the third⁴ of these Fragments are these Words of *Polycarp*'s:
 " *John* being placed at *Ephesus*, where being *Gentiles*, they

¹ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 5. Ch. 20. p. 152, 153. ² Adv. Helvidium, cap. 9. ³ [And *Valentinus*;] which Words *Marianus Victor* observes are not in most of the Manuscripts. The Thing it self indeed discovers them to be the Interpolation of some Novice: For it is plain, the Heresy of *Ebion* and *Theodotus* was widely different from *Valentinus*'s Opinion concerning Christ. ⁴ *Irenæus*, p. 241.

" knew

“ knew nothing of the Law, begun his Gospel with the
 “ Cause of our Redemption, which Cause is from hence
 “ manifest, that God would have his Son incarnate for
 “ our Salvation. But *Luke* begins his from the Priesthood
 “ of *Zachariah*, that by the Miracle of his Son's Nativity,
 “ and the Office of so great a Preacher, he might declare
 “ the Divinity of Christ to the *Gentiles*. ” Here the Ho-
 ly Man professes and acknowledges that Son of God, who
 was such before he was made Man, and afterwards was
 made Man, when and how God the Father would; he
 expressly teaches that *John* intended, in the beginning of
 his Gospel, this very Son of God; nay, he affirms more-
 over, that *Luke* designed in the beginning of his Gospel to
 declare the Divinity of Christ to the *Gentiles*, from the
 miraculous Nativity of his Fore-runner, and his Testimony
 concerning him.

8. But, *Secondly*, In *Polycarp's* Epistle there are some
 plain Hints of the Divinity of our Lord. The very Words
 the Author of the *Irenicum* ¹ has an Eye to, are of this
 kind. We only have the *Latin* Version, the *Greek* is lost.
Now God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he
himself, the everlasting High Priest, the Son of God, Jesus
Christ, build you up in Faith and Truth, in all Mildness, with-
out Anger, in Patience, Longanimity, Constancy and Chastity,
and grant you a Part and Lot amongst his Saints, &c. ² In
 these Words *Polycarp* invokes Christ the Son of God, to-
 gether with God, as the giver of Grace in this Life, and
 Glory in that which is to come. Now the Holy Scrip-
 ture, right Reason, and the unanimous Opinion of the an-
 tient Catholic Doctors teach (whatsoever the *Arians* and
Socinians may say to the contrary) that this Invocation be-
 longs to God alone, not to any Creature. *Polycarp* is very
 clear speaking of Christ, as Inspector and Judge of all
 Things: ³ *We are all in the Presence of our Lord and God,*
we must all stand before the Tribunal of Christ, and every one
give an Account of himself. Let us therefore so serve him with
Fear and all Reverence, as he hath commanded, and his Apo-

¹ p. 23. ² p. 189. P. A. Vol. 2. Sect. 12. ³ p. 186. Sect. 6.

stles and Prophets, who foretold the coming of our Lord, have taught us. In this place Polycarp either treats of Christ only (and he seems indeed to speak of one Person only) calling him Lord and God; or at least he joins the Son with his Father, as equally Inspector and Judge of all Things, and exhorts the Faithful by this Argument to serve the Lord Jesus with Fear and Reverence. The parallel Place of St. Ignatius afore-cited, *Nothing is hid from the Lord, &c.* confirms this Sense of the place.

9. We come now to the Fragments of Polycarp mentioned by Eusebius¹. Among which the Doxology of the good Martyr's Prayer, before his Suffering, is chiefly remarkable. † *For which Cause I praise thee for all Things, and glorify thee by the eternal High Priest Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, for whom Glory be to thee, with him in the Holy Ghost now and for ever, Amen.* You see here God the Father is not only glorified by the Son, but with him, one and the same Glory being given to both in the Holy Spirit; which manner of Doxology I have shewn to be opposite to their Heresy, who deny the Divinity of the Son. Petavius had made use of this place to the same purpose. What says the Author of the *Irenicum* to him²? He says it is more against Petavius than for him. "He [Polycarp] in this Prayer, ascribed to him, plainly calls the Father of Jesus Christ the true God and Maker of all Things, and invokes him through his Son, whom he only calls High Priest." What can such manner of Speech declare, but that Polycarp in his Epistle also only esteemed and acknowledged the Father as supreme God? In these Words it is observable in the first place, that the Author would fraudulently insinuate, that this Epistle is not genuine, but only ascribed to Polycarp. Surely no Fragment of Primitive Antiquity preserved by Eusebius is worthy greater Credit than this last Prayer of the dying Polycarp. It is

¹ Euseb. Eccl. Histor. p. 108. Lib. 4. Cap. 15. † In this Citation Dr. Whitby has done what he pleased, but especially left out the Words *Σὺν αὐτῷ*, or with him, upon which the Bishop chiefly insists; no doubt with a Design to countenance the pretty Observations he has made upon Doxologies, p. 23. ² p. 29.

taken from the Epistle of the *Smyrneans* (Eye-witnesses of *Polycarp's* Suffering) to the *Philomelians*, who desired an exact Account of every Thing that happened in that Holy Person's Martyrdom. No Learned Man ever did, ever could, reasonably doubt of this Epistle: For as much as it was found among the public Acts of the Martyrs before *Eusebius*, and breaths the Genius, that is, the Purity of Doctrine, the Piety and Simplicity of the first Christians. This was the Opinion of the great *Joseph Scaliger*¹ concerning the Acts of *Polycarp* and the *French Martyrs*. *I'm so affected* (says he) *with reading the Acts of these pious Men, that I'm never satiated with it.* "This must be the Sentiment of every Man according to his Capacity and Conscience. Surely I never saw any Thing in Church History that moved me more; I'm scarce my self when I come from it."

10. Whatever the Author of the *Irenicum* may pretend, this illustrious Testimony of *Polycarp's* Faith gave him great Uneasiness. He says this Prayer (but with what Face I know not) is more against *Petavius*, who from it asserts the Trinity, than for him. He says that *Polycarp* herein manifestly calls the Father of Jesus Christ the true God, and Maker of all Things, and invokes him through the Son, whom he only styles Priest; and lastly, he so speaks, as though he only owned the Father as supreme God. This the Heretic repeats over and over, enough to nauseate a Man. We freely confess that the Father only is in some respect supreme God; as he is (according to *Athanasius*) the Fountain of the Deity; alone God of himself, from whom the Son and Holy Spirit receive their Divinity; and that for this Reason the Title of true God is properly attributed to him very often, both in the Holy Scriptures and the Antients, especially when mention is made of the three Persons at the same time. This notwithstanding we constantly assert, that the Son is *Light of Light, God of God*, and consequently *very God of very God*. Thus the *Nicene Fathers* spoke, and with a Parity of Reason our

¹ Animadv. in Euseb. Chronic. Num. 2283.

nameless Author might have opposed their Creed to the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Trinity. For their Creed begins thus: *We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all Things visible and invisible.* But the beginning of this Prayer, which our Author thinks so much on his side, is worthy the Reader's Notice. *' Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the Knowledge of thee, God of Angels, of Powers, and of every Creature.* He must be blind that can't see that this is directly opposite to *Arianism* and *Socinianism*. For here *Polycarp* teaches, that God is the Father of his blessed Son, but the Maker of every Thing else, he separates and distinguishes the blessed Son from Angels, &c. he excepts him out of the List of Creatures, and represents God as in a different Relation to his Son and his Creatures. Add moreover, that the Epithet *Blessed* given by *Polycarp* to the Son of God, was by the antient *Jews* properly used in the Celebration of God's Name. The Form is well known to the Learned. And these Persons the Writers of the *New Testament* imitated, as often as they had a Mind to speak more solemnly of the Divine Persons, or more plainly celebrate the supreme *Majesty and Glory*². It is false therefore, which this anonymous Author asserts, that *Polycarp* in this place only calls Christ an *High Priest*, and consequently his Observation upon it is vain, where he says, that the Title of *High Priest* denotes him to have been a Man. Granting that, where is the Consequence? That Christ is Man? This we also firmly believe. So then the Title of *High Priest* denotes the Son of Man, but then surely the Title of the *Beloved and blessed Son of God* signifies something more than Man; especially where such a Description is given of this beloved and blessed Son of God, as places him without and above the Rank of Creatures.

II. What the Heretic³ objects further against *Petavius* is very pleasant. *Petavius*, forsooth, has not given us *Pa-*

¹ See the afore-cited place of Eusebius. ² Compare Mark xiv. 61. Iuke i. 68. Rom. i. 25.—ix. 5. 2 Cor. xi. 31. Eph. i. 3. 1 Pet. i. 3. with Gen. ix. 16.—xiv. 20.—xxiv. 27. ³ p. 30.

lycarp's Prayer, as we have it in *Scultetus*. A heinous Crime ! A great Mistake, that he should cite it from the very Epistle of the *Smyrneans* in *Eusebius* ! And not rather take *Scultetus's* Authority, who pretends not to repeat the Words, but give the Sense of *Polycarp* ! A Man may well conjecture from this, and many other Signs of it, that our Author did not industriously fetch many of his Testimonies of the Antients from the Originals, but lazily transcribed them from *Scultetus*, *Petavius*, and others. Eggregious Folly ! That such a Mortal should undertake to shew the Christian World the true Monuments of Christian Antiquity, and the Faith of the first Christians, more clearly than they had ever seen it before : A Thing he wisely boasts to have done in the splendid Title to his *Reconciler* Part the third.¹

12. But to come to the Point, at last, what do we gather from this Doxology for the Divinity of the Son, and a consubstantial Trinity ? We assert that the joining the three in the same Form and Communion of Glory, denotes the Unity of Nature and Divinity, and upon that Account, an Equality of Persons. *Athanasius*² speaks very right concerning the Form of Baptism. *What Communion hath the Creature with the Creator ? Why is the Thing made number'd with him that made it ?* So, and that excellently, says, *Greg. Nazian.* " The Trinity³ is truly a Trinity, my Brethren. The Trinity is not an Enumeration of Things unequal (for then why not rather a Decad, a Century, or a Myriad compar'd with so many ? For there are many Numbers, and greater than these) but it is a Comprehension of Things equal, and alike honourable." And indeed, if the Son and Holy Spirit were join'd to the Father in the Christian Doxologies, not as consubstantial with him, but as very excellent Creatures, why are not other excellent Creatures rang'd with them in the same Doxologies ? Why do we not say, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, &c. To Michael, and*

¹ p. 13.
13, p. 211.

² p. 508. Tom. I. Part I. Ch. 41.

³ Orat.

the other Arch-Angels, and Angels? Why do we not receive the Popish Form, *Praise to God, and the Virgin the Mother of God?* The Disciples of the Apostles had not so learned Christ.

13. Let us now consider what the Author of the *Irenicum* has to say against these Things. First then he cavils at *Polycarp's* Form, because he says not [*with the Holy Spirit, or to the, &c.*] but [*in the Holy Spirit*]. Nay, says he, the Phraseology [*in the Holy Spirit*] never denotes a Communion in one Communion of Glory. For we are taught *to pray in the Spirit*¹, without any Note of Equality with the Father. What is this but Quibble and Sophistry? By the Phrase [*in Spiritu*] in this Place is not signified the Holy Spirit, but our Spirit assisted by the Grace of the Holy Spirit, so that, *to pray with the Spirit* is the same as, in this very Epistle, to pray with the Heart, *i. e.* with the sincere Affections of the Heart. Hence I should suspect our Author to be one of the *Pneumatomachi*, one who denies both the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Ghost. But whatsoever this Modern may think of the Holy Spirit, it is certain *Polycarp* and the Catholics his Contemporaries believed him to be a Person distinct from the Father and the Son, and Divine, *i. e.* Partaker of the same Majesty, Government, and Honour with the Father and the Son. See an unexceptionable Testimony to this Purpose, namely, the Confession of the *Smyrneans* in the Close of this Epistle, who well knew the Sense of *Polycarp* and the Church of that Age: ² “ Brethren, we wish you well, “ walking in the Word of Jesus Christ according to the “ Gospel; with whom Glory be to God the Father, and “ the Holy Spirit, for the Salvation of his Elect Saints.” Here Divine Honour and Glory is given to the Holy Spirit together with the Father and Son, nor is the Son more plainly distinguished from the Father than the Holy Spirit is from both. Parallel to this is the Doxology of the *Companions* of *Ignatius*: “ Glorifying³ our Lord Jesus

¹ Eph. vi. 18.
Vol. 2. p. 178.

² Valefius's *Notes upon Eusebius* p. 65.

³ P. A.

* Christ in the venerable and holy Remembrance of him
 “ [Ignatius], by whom and with whom Glory and Power
 “ be to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church
 “ for ever and ever. *Amen.*” Where by the bye you may
 observe both the Forms [*by whom*] and [*with whom*] used
 of the Son, as in Polycarp’s Prayer: The Reason I have
 given before. Now the Antients seemed to me to have
 used not only *with the Spirit*, and *to the Spirit*, but also
 sometimes *in the Spirit*, in their Doxologies, to signify that
 the Holy Spirit, as it proceeds from the Father and the Son,
 or from the Father by the Son, is the Communion and
 Unity of them both, the Bond of the most Holy Tri-
 nity, as some of the Antients express themselves. This is
 more clear in that very *antient Form* ¹, *Glory be to the Fa-
 ther, and the Son, in the Unity of the Holy Spirit.* Hence
 that *antient Author Athenagoras* ² says, the Father and
 Son are one in the Unity of the Spirit. *Synesius* more
 than once elegantly expresses this Mystery in his Hymns.
 Hymn 3. he thus speaks to the Holy Spirit, *In thee both
 Natures terminate, the begetting, and the begotten.* Hymn
 4, after he had celebrated the Praises of the Father and
 the Son, he thus proceeds, *The middle Principle, the Ho-
 ly Spirit, Center of the Father, and the Son.*

14. To return to our Author he thus proceeds in his
 Cavil: “ Besides, the more *antient Christians* praised
 “ the Son together with the Father and the Holy Spirit,
 “ yet did not (as is here shewn, and shall be by and bye
 “ in *Justin*, &c.) determine or believe the Son, or Spirit
 “ equal to the Father; nay, presumed not, to say the Ho-
 “ ly Spirit was God.” I answer: What the more *anti-
 ent Fathers* thought of the Equality of the Persons of the
 Father and Son, I shall largely shew hereafter ³; where I
 will make it manifest that they did not determine any other
 Inequality than that, which is acknowledged by the *Post-
 Nicene Fathers*, the present Catholics, and the very School-
 men. This is in the mean time certain, that the Fathers

¹ Petav. de Trinit. Lib. 7. Cap. 12. n. 8.
 Justini Martyr. p. 10.

² Sect. 4.

³ Append. operum

of the three first Centuries universally taught, that the Son is of the same Nature with the Father, and therefore true God, and that they glorify'd him with the Father under no other Notion. This I have prov'd already from the Author of the Epistle said to be *Barnabas's*, from *Hermas*, *Ignatius*, and *Clemens Romanus*; I am now shewing you the same from *Polycarp*, and in the following Sections will particularly do it from *Justin Martyr*, and other *Ante-Nicene* Fathers. As for the Holy Spirit, I shall prove by the bye, that those more antient Fathers own'd his Consubstantiality, and consequently Divinity; that by some of them he is expressly call'd God.

15. The Heretic, lastly, proceeds to shew, how we are oblig'd to worship Christ with Divine Worship, tho' only mere Man. "Angels (says he) and Men are oblig'd to adore the Man Christ, and according to the " *Divine Prophecy* ¹ to worship and glorify him as God, " but yet as a Servant and Ambassador of God, as a " *made God, or Lord.*" ² To this I answer, that Christ is propos'd to be ador'd in Scripture, not only as a Servant, and Ambassador of God, who was afterwards made Lord; but as the Son of God, begotten of the Father before Ages, who by that Ambassy, he undertook out of his infinite Love to Mankind, by a new Title, if we may so speak, merited of us Divine Honour, by this new and stupendous Benefit bound us to worship and obey him. Doubtless in this Place of the Epistle to the *Philip*. (which our nameless Author and his Herd call their own) the same Person, who after Death is said to be exalted very highly by God, is shewn to have subsisted in the Form of God, and to have been equal with God, before he took upon him the Form of a Servant, *i. e.* (as St. [†] *Paul* interprets himself) before he was made Man. Whoever weighs the Context will quickly perceive that the elusive Comments put upon the Text by the *Arians* and *Socinians* are very insipid. So in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ³ he

¹ Jeremy xxx. 9. Ezech. xxxiv. 23, 24. ² Compare Philip. ii. 9. 10, 11. Acts ii. 36. [†] So Dr. Clarke tells us also, Scr. Doctr. p. 177. ³ Ch. i. 2, 3.

who sat at the Right-hand of his Majesty on high, after he had purg'd away our Sins by himself, is call'd the Son of God, by whom he made the World, and the Splendor of the Father's Glory, who sustains all Things by his powerful Word. We deny not that the humane Nature of Christ is taken into Partnership of the Glory and Honour of that Divine Person the Son of God. This St. Paul plainly teaches, and the Author of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, when he says Christ would that the Vehicle of his Spirit should be glorify'd, as we have observed before. This also is *Hermas's* Sense, when he says that the Servant, the Man Christ, for the good Work he perform'd was made Heir with the Son of God. This Passage of *Hermas* utterly destroys our Author's Comment. For there, that Divine Honour which Christ, as the Son of God (so *Hermas* interprets himself) existing before all Creatures, had before with the Father, is very plainly distinguish'd from that Honour, which was given after Death as a reward to Christ, the Servant, *i. e.* the Man who was obedient to the Death of the Cross. The humane Nature of Christ exalted after Death was made Partaker of the Divine Government and Honour, not of it self, but by Reason of the Subsistence of the Word, by which it is sustain'd, and to which it is united; so that this Honour properly terminates upon the Person, not the Nature, and therefore it is manifest that, whilst the Humanity of Christ is ador'd, the Creature is not so ador'd, but that the Act of Worship does properly tend to the Creator, who has join'd to himself a created Nature in personal Union. The truly ¹ Great *Athanasius* has very well explain'd this Matter. "We adore not the Creature. God forbid: This is the Error of the *Heathens* and *Arians*: But we adore the Lord of the Creation, the Word of God made Flesh. Though Flesh in it self be a part of the Creatures, it is made the Body of God. Now we neither worship the Body abstracting it from the Word, nor the Word abstracting it

¹ Ep. ad Philadelphum, p. 912. Part 2. 1 Tom.

" from

“ from the Flesh ; but knowing that the Word was made
 “ Flesh, we acknowledge him that was made Flesh, as
 “ God.” And *afterwards*, ¹ “ Let them know that we
 “ who worship our Lord in the Flesh, do not worship
 “ a Creature, but the Creator, who has put on a created
 “ Body.” Lastly, he closes this Epistle with these ve-
 ry remarkable Words. ² “ The Faith of the Catholic
 “ Church acknowledges the Word of God to be the
 “ Creator and Maker of all Things, and we know that
 “ in the Beginning the Word was, and the Word was
 “ with God. We adore him, who was made Man for
 “ our Salvation, not as though he was equal only to the
 “ Body he took, but as a Lord taking upon him the
 “ Form of a Servant, as a Maker and Creator in a Crea-
 “ ture; that redeeming all things by himself, he might
 “ reduce the World to his Father, and reconcile all Things
 “ in Heaven and Earth. Thus we acknowledge his Dei-
 “ ty deriv’d from the Father; and thus we adore his co-
 “ ming in the Flesh, maugre the fond Admirers of *A-*
 “ *rius*.”

16. I return to *Polycarp* and the *Smyrneans*. It is plain
 they glorify’d Christ with God the Father, not as a Ser-
 vant afterwards made a Lord, but as a *belov’d Son, bles-*
sed, and only begotten of the Father, as will easily appear to
 any one who reads this Epistle. I have already shew’d,
 and will more fully prove hereafter from the Consent of
 the antient Church, that by these Titles the Divine Na-
 ture, Glory, and Majesty of the Son is signify’d. The
Smyrneans giving a Reason why they *worship Christ cruci-*
fy’d, but don’t worship Martyrs, the Followers of his Passi-
on, ³ thus express themselves : *We adore him being the Son*
of God [not mere Man]. And afterwards (which is worthy
 the Papist’s Notice) concerning Martyrs they add : *We*
greatly love the Martyrs as Disciples and Imitators of our
Lord, for their exceeding Benevolence to their King and Ma-
ster. Besides, the same *Smyrneans*, as we have seen, give
 Divine Honour to the Holy Spirit with the Father.

¹ p. 915.² p. 916, 917.³ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. p. 109.
How ?

How? As to a made Lord? Can the Author of the *Irenicum* tell us, how the Holy Spirit of a Servant became Lord? Or is it given as to a created Spirit more excellent than others? No; all own that Divine Worship is not due to any the most excellent Creatures. ¹ Moreover, the Holy Scriptures every where declare, that the Holy Spirit is in God, knows his Mind, and all his Secrets, and is every where. Nor have they delivered one Tittle, from which we can suspect that he is only in the Order of Creatures. Upon this Account the greater and more sagacious Part of the *Pneumatomachi* have thought it better, roundly to deny his Personality, and assert him to be only the Virtue and Power of God the Father, not distinct from him, than to affirm he is a Creature against so many clear Testimonies of Scripture. But this also is vain. For in Holy Scripture the Spirit is as plainly distinguish'd from God the Father, as the Son (it would be easy to prove it, if this was a proper place) and the Catholic Church has always believed and taught this Distinction. If this is true, as it certainly is, it will follow that the same Antients either adored him as God, or thought him inferior to the Holy Spirit. For without doubt it is a greater piece of Honour to be worship'd as God by Nature, than as a made God. But no Catholic ever thought the Son inferior to the Holy Spirit. For in Scripture the Holy Spirit is said to be sent by the Son, to have received what is his from the Son; and in all the Doxologies of the Antients, in which the Persons are mentioned in their Order, the Son (to speak as *Justin Martyr* does) has the second, and the Holy Spirit the third place.

17. This the Antients thought the most invincible Argument of Christ's Divinity. For thus *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity, among the Works of *Tertullian*²: "If Christ is only Man, how does he say that the Comforter shall take of his to shew to you? For he has nothing from Man, but gives him Knowledge; he learns not Things future from Man,

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.

² p. 722. Ch. 24.

" but

“ but informs him concerning them. Therefore either
 “ the Comforter received nothing from the Man Christ to
 “ tell us, because Man could give him nothing, from
 “ whom he was to receive; and then Christ in the place
 “ before us deceives us, when he says, *The Comforter shall*
 “ *receive from him*, a Man; *what he shall tell us*: Or he
 “ does not deceive (as indeed he does not) and the Com-
 “ forter does receive from Christ what he shall tell us.
 “ But if he has received what he may tell us, then Christ
 “ is greater than the Comforter, because he could not re-
 “ ceive from Christ, except he was less than he. Now
 “ the Comforter, who is less than Christ, proves by this,
 “ that Christ is God, because he hath received from him
 “ to tell us. So that it is a great Testimony of Christ's Divi-
 “ nity, that the Comforter is less than Christ, and takes from
 “ him what he delivers to others.” What he says here,
 that the Spirit is less than the Son, is so to be understood,
 as the Subordination of the Son to the Father, which we
 shall explain hereafter ¹. So as that the Holy Spirit is said
 to be less than the Son, not in respect of Nature, but Ori-
 ginal, namely, as he is derived from the Father by the
 Son (according to ² *Tertullian*) and therefore receives all his
 own from the Father by the Son (according to *Novatian*).
 This Subordination of the Holy Spirit *Tertullian* ³ more
 clearly explains in these Words. “ The Spirit is the third
 “ from the Father and the Son, as the Fruit is the third
 “ from the Root and the Branch, and the Rivulet the
 “ third from the Fountain and the Stream, and the Point

¹ Sect. 4. ² Pag. 502. Ch. 4. Adv. Prax. So the Author of the
 Constit. (lib. 6. cap. 11.) says, “ There is one God, the Father of one
 “ Son, and of one Paraclete by Christ.” Gregory Nyssen in his Epistle to
 Ablabius, (Tom. 2. p. 459.) thus declares, how the Son and Holy Spi-
 rit come differently from the same Principle, God the Father, “ The one
 “ immediately from the first, the other from the first through him who was
 “ immediately from him.” To the same purpose Cyrill (de Adoratione, lib.
 1.) See also his Epistle to Regin. Thus Damascene (lib. 1. c. 18. de
 Fide Orthod.) “ The Spirit is the Son's, not as proceeding from him, but
 “ from the Father through him.” And Hilary, “ Keep me, I beseech thee in
 “ this religious Faith, always to hold thee the Father, to adore thy Son
 “ with thee, and to obtain thy Holy Spirit, who is through thy Only-
 “ begotten.” ³ p. 504. ch. 8. near the end.

“ the third from the Sun and the Ray. *It is nothing different from the Cause, from which it takes its Properties.* So the Trinity by complicated and connected Degrees deriving from the Father, does not oppose the Monarchy, or Unity, and preserves the Oeconomy or Dispensation.” In these Words he so makes the Holy Spirit the third from the Father by the Son, as that he still plainly confesses him to be of the same Nature and Essence with them, and no way alienated from them. If any one suspects that only the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers used this way of Reasoning, let him know that the most approved *Post-Nicene* Doctors establish the Divinity of the Son by the same Argument, as I could largely shew, if the Nature of the present Design would admit. Let it suffice to produce two Testimonies of two Doctors, as firmly attach’d as any to the *Nicene Creed*. ¹ *Athanasius* says, “ When he shewed his great Power and Godhead to his Disciples, no longer appearing less than the Holy Spirit, but greater and equal, he gave the Spirit, and said, *Receive the Holy Ghost*; and, *I send him*; and, *he shall glorify me.*” ² *Augustine* says, *How is not he God, who gives the Holy Spirit? Yea, how great a God is he who gives God?* So much for *Polycarp’s* Prayer, and the Eulogy of the *Smyrnaeans*. I therefore dwelt the longer upon it, that all may know, how antient and truly Apostolical a Form of Doxology that is, which is even now used in the Catholic Church, namely, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; and how firm and stable a Monument and Defence it is of the Apostolical Tradition of a consubstantial Trinity, against all Heretical Attempts.

18. Two Things more I must add concerning *Polycarp*, to shew the more clearly how he abhorred the *Arian* and *Samosatenian* Opinions of the Son of God. First then, if you desire to know *Polycarp’s* Creed in this Point, consult *Irenaeus*. He was a very diligent Hearer of this Apostolical Man in his Youth; when he was old he well remembered what he had heard from him, especially his Dis-

¹ Tom. i. part 1. p. 454.

² Lib. 15. de Trinitate, cap. 26.

courses, in which he explained what he himself had heard from the Apostles concerning the Lord Jesus; he could from the Analogy of *Polycarp's* Faith refute the growing Heresies of that Age, and called God to witness for the Truth of his Tradition, as he himself tells us¹. It is very unlikely, nay altogether incredible, that *Irenaeus* should not know, or if he did, should not fairly deliver *Polycarp's* Opinion of a primary Article of Christianity. Now I dare affirm, that no Asserter of the *Nicene Creed* (not *Athanasius* himself) ever spoke more magnificently, more clearly against the *Arian* Blasphemy, concerning the Son of God than *Irenaeus*. He has not indeed, I confess, used the word *Consubstantial*. Whosoever will read what I shall cite from him in this and the following Section, will not charge me with Rashness. Another Thing, from which we may gather what was *Polycarp's* Faith and Opinion in this Point, is this: *Eusebius* testifies, that *Polycarp*² in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, recommended to them the Epistle of *Ignatius*, as containing Faith, Patience, and all Christian Edification. *Polycarp* then approved all the Doctrine of those Epistles. But in the seven Epistles, published by *Vossius* (the same, no sober Man can doubt, with *Polycarp's* Collection known to *Eusebius*) the true Divinity of our Saviour is often and very plainly delivered, as I have shewn above.—So much for the Doctors of the Church, who were taught by the living Voice of the Apostles.

*Dr. GRABE's Annotations upon Chapter 3.
Sect. 3, &c. concerning Clemens Romanus.*

I Can't but think the Answer given to *Zuicker* by our learned Author, in which he insists upon the Distinction made by *Clemens*, and expressed in those Words [*as concerning the Flesh*] is not a little confirmed, when it is considered that probably it is borrowed from St. *Paul*³, who adds, [*who is over all God blessed for ever*]. This

¹ Euseb. Eccl. Histor. Book 5. ch. 20. p. 152. ² P. A. Vol. 2. p. 189. Sect. 13. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Book 3, ch. 36. p. 87. ³ Rom. ix. 5.

Method of using St. Paul's Language, we find in *Clement* elsewhere in this Epistle. Thus ¹ *they that do these things are hated of God, and not only they that do them, but also they that take Pleasure in such.* This Passage is as clear for determining the various reading of this Verse, as that other Purpose, for which it is alledg'd. It is highly probable St. *Clement* wrote from the Original, for it was preserv'd in the *Roman Church* in *Tertullian's* time.

2. It may seem incredible that we should cite a Passage from St. *Clement*, in which Christ is expressly called God, not only because of *Phorins* his Censure upon that account; but also because no Divine, I know, has alledg'd any such Place against the Adversaries of this Doctrine. However, I believe you'll find it, ² *Seet. 2.* of this Epistle, though not plain at first View. There St. *Clement* gives this Commendation of the *Corinthians*; *being content with the Viaticum of God, and diligently attending to his Words, ye were enlarg'd in your Bowels, and his Sufferings were before your Eyes.* His Sufferings? whose? His, who was mentioned before, God's, not the Father's, that could not be, but the Son of God's. Nor is the Phrase to be carpt at, as not agreeable to the Faith of the Apostles, and the Age of *Clement*. St. *Paul* uses these Words ³ in his Sermon at *Ephesus*, [*the Church of God, which he hath purchas'd with his own Blood.*] *Ignatius* to the same *Ephesians* writes thus, [*being Imitators of God* ⁴, *and stirring up your selves by the Blood of God.*] So again he mentions, *the Sufferings of my God*; according to which the old vulgar Version also reads. Others might also be named to the same Purpose. *Tatian*, &c. of latter date I omit.

3. *Patricius Junius* † has given us a Conjecture upon the Place. *Μαθημαλα* for *Παθημαλα*; but such an one as

¹ P. A. Vol. 1. p. 166. *Seet. 35.* ² p. 146. ³ Acts xx. 28. P. A. Vol. 1. 121. ⁴ p. 29. † Dr. Whitby is of his Mind: but if the Alex. MSS. had afforded any Ground for this, why have we not heard it? Why no Authority at all for it? It is indeed a slender Conjecture, and has no Foundation in the *Ductus Literarum*. Scarce are there two Letters, notwithstanding the Doctor's Assertion, which differ more in the best MSS. than Π and Μ.

is justly to be rejected. There is no Necessity for it, no Manuscripts give it any Countenance; the Context ¹ and parallel Places, where the *Corinthians* are exhorted to have the *Sufferings of Christ* before their Eyes, support the old reading.

4. I proceed to what *Luke Mellier* has wrested in our Author, *Seet. 4.* *St. Clement* says, *He came not in the Pomp of Boasting and Pride, though he might.* Hence *Luke* concludes, that though Christ did not come in this manner, he might, *i. e.* that he could have sinned, if he would. But he that asserts this, manifestly denies that Christ is one Person with the Divinity, and that he consisted of a Divine and Humane Nature personally joined; for that Divine Nature would have render'd the other wholly impeccable. The Author pronounces the Sentence of Damnation against himself, when he tells us what Censure these Words deserve, if false. "As he would be a Blasphemer who should say, the supreme God could sin, so he would no less be a Blasphemer, who should say so of the Humane and Divine Natures personally and individually join'd together." This is nothing but Blasphemy against Christ, and a Calumniation of *Clement*. *Clement* does not say that he might have come in Boasting and Pride, but in all the Figure, the Splendor, the Grandeur of it, and if our Author can find any Blasphemy in this, it will be a difficult Matter to defend the Prophet ² *Isaiah* and the Evangelist St. ³ *Matthew*. As foolish is the other Cavil against our Author, and wholly groundless upon a wrong Interpretation of the Words [*The Sceptre of the Magnificence of God*].

5. Of the two Passages cited from the second Epistle, *Mellier* only mentions one, and contends for another Translation than that of *Junius*. *Jesus Christ the Lord, who sav'd us, being first a Spirit, became Flesh.* So *Junius*. *Mellier* says, *being a chief Spirit, an excellent Spirit, was Flesh.* understanding by an excellent Spirit, the Man Christ exalted. For this he cites *Hermas*. But *Hermas* no where

¹ *Seet. 7. and 21.*

² *Ch. 63. v. 1.*

³ *Ch. 25. v. 31.*

says that the Son of God, much less the Man Christ is a Spirit, but that the Spirit, which appear'd to *Hermas* is the Son of God. This *Mellier* saw. Again, he mistakes in his Criticism upon *πρωτον*. For first the Authority he brings is against him; but suppose he has another for him, what does he conclude? The Word may be translated either Way; therefore mine. It either signifies *first*, or *chief*, therefore *only chief*. But suppose it to signify *chief* only, why must *Clement* call the Man Christ exalted, the *chief Spirit*? He can't find any Authority for it. Is it not much rather applicable to the Divine Nature? Is he not in his State, before he took Flesh, esteemed Prince of the Angels and Holy Spirit? Does not the Scripture ¹ say so? Is it not the Doctrine of *Irenæus*, and of the antient *Arians*, though the *Socinians* impiously reject it?

6. Our bold Adversary proceeds—the matter *Clement treats of requires this Sense*. He feigns that the Holy Father, after he had affirm'd that the Faithful should come into the Kingdom of God in the Flesh, obviates this tacit Objection. *In the Kingdom of God we shall be spiritual, why sayst thou then that we shall come in the Flesh?* And answers thus. *Behold, Christ, our Lord, who hath saved us, who was given for an Example to us, who is now a Spirit, yea, a chief Spirit, was Flesh before. These Things therefore are not contraries. Ye shall be made immortal Spirits, or spiritual, though ye are Flesh, and shall come in the Flesh.* After which Words he at length concludes. *You see how excellently these things agree together, how appositely this Way the Example of Jesus Christ is brought by Clement.* But this Way there is no Coherence: It is apposite to nothing but the Confutation of what it is brought to establish. The Author of this Epistle opposes himself to some of the *Corinthians*, who deny'd the Resurrection of the Flesh, and affirm'd it to be incapable of Immortality and a Conjunction with the Spirit. *Let none of you say, that this Flesh is not judged, does not rise again. Acknowledge in*

¹ Josh. v. 14.

what State ye are saved, in what Condition ye received Sight, if it was not whilst ye were in the Flesh; then follows, *Jesus Christ the Lord, who saved us, &c.* In the last Words of which Passage if *Clement* had intended to say, that Christ though Flesh before, was afterwards made Spirit, he had given his Adversaries an Advantage, and stabbed himself with his own Weapon. For as Jesus being Flesh after Death became Spirit, so we having laid aside the Flesh by Death, shall become all Spirit, and rise without it. They were so far from denying (as *Mellier* feigns) that those who were before Flesh should be made Spirit, or rejecting this as a Contradiction, that it was the very Thing they held. Wherefore then should *Clement* go to prove it? But our Adversary says, "Supposing *Clement* to speak of the Incarnation, we shall make him speak poor silly stuff. When he says [*so we, &c.*] does he not manifestly compare us with Christ, in that, which he especially asserts of Christ?" Not at all. For that [*so we, &c.*] has respect to what immediately goes before [*so he hath called us*], and contains in it this Argument: "In what State we are called by Christ, and have been obedient to his Call, in the same we shall be glorified, and receive a Reward; But in this Flesh we have been called by Christ, and have been obedient to him; Therefore in the Flesh we shall be glorified, and receive the Reward." And these Words immediately precede those we are disputing upon, namely, *As ye are called in the Flesh, we shall come in the Flesh.* In this Member he speaks after the same manner: *So (in the Flesh) he hath called us, so also in the Flesh we shall receive the Reward.* ¹ *For whom he hath called, those he hath glorified.* It is only by the bye that *Clement* says, we are called in the Flesh by Christ, he himself being clothed with Flesh, though before only Spirit. He thus obliquely suggests the Dignity of the Flesh against those who pronounced it incapable of Spirit, and by consequence, of Immortality. He thus wounds his Adversary with a new Weapon. Why should not our Flesh

¹ Rom. viii. 30.

be clothed upon with Spirit, and be consistent with it, when Christ, a Spirit according to his Deity, vouchsafed to put on Flesh, and intimately unite it to himself? This is the genuine congruous Sense of the Phrase, in which Christ *the Word* is by *John*, and *the Spirit* by *Clement*, said to *be made Flesh*, in so much that we need not give our selves any further Trouble with *Mellier's* Cavil. The various Reading in the *Alexandrian* Manuscript, namely, *εἰς* for *ἐν* *ἑαυτοῦ* does not affect at all, supposing it to be so, an Enquiry which the Absence of the Librarian would not permit me to make; nor that other Reading of *ὑπὲρ* for *ἐν*. I must therefore wait another Opportunity.

7. The Words of *Clement*, cited by *Basil*, *Mellier* questions, for the confirming them I add a parallel Place, 'Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit, &c? Here he jointly names all the three Persons of the Godhead, though he calls the first God, by way of Eminence, as being the Principle of the other two.

Some learned Men have placed the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs in the first Century; and therefore I have inserted them in it in the *Spicilegium*. They also afford several remarkable Testimonies of Christ's Divinity².

¹ 1 Ep. p. 173. Vol. I. ² In Testamento Simeonis, p. 156. p. 157. Levi, p. 159. p. 160. Judæ, p. 187, 188. Zebulon, p. 203. Dan, p. 208. Nephtalin, p. 216. Aser, p. 228. Benjamin, p. 251. In all which the Divinity and Humanity of our Lord are plainly insinuated.

CHAP. IV.

The Opinions of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus Antioch. &c.

NEXT to the *Apostolical Writers*, if not with them, we must reckon *Justin Martyr*. All his Pieces are filled with such clear Testimonies of the Son's Consubstan-

tiality, that I can't without Indignation read the Reproaches of some confident Modern Writers, who have represented him as an *Arian*. In that which is called his *second Apology*, but really is the *first*, he blames those that deny ¹ *That the Father of all Things hath a Son, who being the first-born Word of God, is also God*. Here he plainly concludes that the Son is as truly God as the Father, because he proceeded from, and was begotten of the Father himself, as his Word, his First-born. Thus in the *Dialogue with Trypho* ², he sharply notes the Blindness of the *Jews*, who denied *The Son of the only, unbegotten, ineffable God to be God*. And some time after in the same Book pronounces Christ *Lord, and God, as being the Son of God* ³.

2. Hence the same *Justin* every where proclaims Christ to be the Son of God, truly, really, genuinely, properly speaking, which the *Arians* never really did, or could say. So in the *first*, or rather the *second Apology*. ⁴ *His Son (the Father's) who is only properly called Son*. In the *second* according to the vulgar Edition, ⁵ *The Son of God, called Jesus, though only Man as other Men are, for his Wisdom was worthy to be called the Son of God. (All Writers call God, the Father of Gods and Men)*. Now, if we say, that he, the Word of God was peculiarly or properly begotten of God in an extraordinary manner, as we have affirmed before, let us have this [form of speaking] in common with you ^{*}, &c. A little after, ⁶ *Jesus Christ only is properly begotten the Son of God, as being his Word, his first Begotten, his Power*. Lastly, In the *Dialogue with Trypho*, ⁷ *Christ is said to be the Only-begotten of the Father of all Things, properly Begotten of him, his Word and Power, and afterwards made Man of the Virgin*. *Athanasius* has very well expressed the Sense of *Justin* in these places, and the Sense of the Holy Scripture, where he calls Christ the Son of God, his proper and Only-begotten Son. ⁸ *Nature acknowledges him a Son, who is by Nature born of some one, not taken in, superinduced, adopted,*

¹ Justin Martyr, Ed. Colon. 1686. p. 96. ² p. 355. ³ p. 357.
⁴ p. 44. ⁵ p. 67. ^{*} *Er. Whitby omits the latter Part of this Citation.* ⁶ p. 68. ⁷ p. 332. ⁸ p. 217. *Athanas. Tom. 1.*

and this is the Idea of the Word. See Petavius, de Trinit. lib. 2. c. 10. throughout.

3. Besides, it is clear, *Justin* acknowledged the Consubstantiality by his Explications and Illustrations of the Divine Generation, which we find every where. There is a remarkable Place in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho*, where he explains the manner of the Son's Generation in these Words :
*' In what has been said already, I have briefly shewn that the Power (which the Word of the Prophet calls God (as I have largely proved) and Angel) is not a Name only, as the Light of the Sun, but numerically another. I said this Power was Begotten of the Father, by his Power and Counsel, and Will, but not by way of Abscission, as though the Father's Essence was divided ; or such, as all other Things, which being divided, or cut, are not the same as before. And I exemplified in those Things which we see set on Fire by another, that other not being diminish'd thereby, but being able to set on Fire many more, it self remaining the same. In these Words Justin plainly teaches that the Son is distinct from the Father in Number and Person ; but not so in Nature, as being born of the very Essence of the Father, and consequently Consubstantial with him. For attempting to explain the manner of this Generation, he says it was not by Abscission, as though the Father's Substance was divided. But to what Purpose this, if the Son had nothing in common with the Father's Substance, in his Generation ? Again, the Similitude, by which he illustrates this Catholic Doctrine, manifestly proves the Consubstantiality. He says the Son is born of the Father, as Fire is lighted by Fire. Who denies that one Fire lighted by another is of the same Nature and Substance with that other ? This is indeed Justin's own Comment upon his Words :
 ' As in Fire, we see another lighted, that, from which it was lighted, not being diminished, but remaining the same ; and that which was lighted from it appears the same, not diminishing that from which it was lighted. Here, when he says, that which is lighted by the Fire, is the very Fire, he manifestly designs by a Parity of Reason, that*

¹ Justin Martyr, p. 358.

² p. 234.

the Son of God, born of God, is very God. These Places are so clear, that *Petavius* (the same who accused *Justin* of *Arianism*) after he had cited some of them, adds :
 “ ‘ What can be added to this Profession of Faith and
 “ Trinity ? Or what have the *Nicene* Fathers, or their
 “ Successors said more exprefs, and significant ? The so-
 “ lemn Form of their Appointment : *God of God, Light*
 “ *of Light, very God of very God.* *Justin* so long before
 “ led them the way to it by this Sentence ; from which
 “ the Consubstantiality, a Communion and Identity of
 “ Substance, without Abscission or Division is made out. ”

4. Moreover, it is diligently to be observed, that *Justin* in the Passage last cited from him, professedly opposes much the same Heresy, which afterwards was advanced by *Sabellius* ; namely, “ That the Power proceeding from
 “ the Father of all Things, which appeared to *Moses*, to
 “ *Jacob*, and to *Abraham*, was called an Angel, when it
 “ brought the Divine Commands to Men ; the Glory,
 “ when it was sometime exhibited to them in an incom-
 “ prehensible manner ; but a Man, when appearing in that
 “ Shape. And therefore, *the Word*, because it brought
 “ the Father’s Words to Men. That this Power could
 “ not be disjoined and separate from the Father ; but as
 “ the Light is with the Sun, cannot be severed from it,
 “ and when it sets, departs with it, so the Father, when
 “ he pleases exerts, and withdraws this Power ”. These
 Heretics endeavoured to confirm their Heresy by an Argument drawn from the Catholic Doctrine, that the Son was of the same Essence with the Father. Thus they Sophistically argued : Either the Son is the same with the Father, not a distinct Person from him, or the Divine Essence is divided into two Parts, one of which constitutes the Father, and another the Son. This we evidently gather from the Passage. For the Catholics did not say the Divine Nature was divided, they with *Justin* rejected it as blasphemous. On the other hand, the Heretics, opposed by *Justin*, did not affirm it ; but on the contrary there-

fore said, that there was but one Person in the Divine Nature, to avoid this Division of the Divine Nature. It remains then, that those Fore-runners of *Sabellius* loaded the Catholic Doctrine of the Son's Generation of the Father's Substance, and his distinct Personality, with this invidious Consequence, that then the Divine Substance was cut or divided into two Parts. This is plain. Now *Justin* in order to obviate this Sophism, denies not that the Son is begotten of the Father's Substance, he held that indubitable; but shews that the Son is begotten of the Father, so as to be a distinct Person from the Father, not by Abscission from the Father's Essence (as the Heretics cavilled) but by a simple Communication of Essence, such as is that of one Fire producing another Fire, without any Loss or Diminution of its self. This Method of explaining the Case, *Tatian* a Disciple of *Justin* makes use of. ¹ "He was born
 " by Communication, or Partnership, not by Abscission.
 " For that which is cut off is separated from the first; but
 " that which hath something in Participation, taking its
 " part of the Oeconomy, makes not him indigent from
 " whom he received it. As many Fires are lighted by
 " one Firebrand, and the Light of the first Brand is not
 " diminished by giving Light to those many; so the Word
 " proceeding from the Power of the Father, hath not
 " made the Father that begat him without Word or Reason.
 " son." Hence it is clear, the Doctrine of the Son's Consubstantiality, his Production from the Essence, or Substance of the Father, was received, fix'd and establish'd in the Days of *Justin* in the Catholic Church; that the Heretics of those times cavilled at it after the same manner, as the *Arians* afterward; and lastly, That the Catholics of *Justin's* Age opposed and confuted them with the same Argument, which the succeeding Catholic Doctors used against the *Arians*².

5. The same *Justin*³ largely shews, that Christ is called in the Old Testament, *God and Lord, Lord of Hosts,*

¹ *Tatian among the Works of Justin*, p. 145. ² See Ch. I. n. 10, 11, 12, of this Section. ³ p. 284, &c.

God of Israel; that it is he, who appeared to *Abraham*, *Moses*, and the *Patriarchs*, whom they worship'd as their God, and who is honoured with the most glorious Name of God by the Holy Spirit. He proves that those Things, which in the same Scripture, and especially the *Psalms*, are said of the supreme Lord and God, agree to Christ. So for Example, ¹ *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever*, he with the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the most antient *Hebrew* Doctors ² accommodates to Christ, and thence concludes our Saviour is to be adored, as God. *Justin* never dreamt of the strange elusive Comment fixt upon the Words by *Erasmus* ³ and *Grotius* (Men who seem to have acknowledged our Lord's Divinity, but yet by what Fate I know not, so interpret away the Texts asserting it, as though they had been born for that purpose) : *Erasmus* says it may, *Grotius*, that it ought to be read, not, *O God, thy Throne is for ever and ever*, but *God is thy Throne for ever and ever*, i. e. God will support thy Throne, &c. What could persuade these learned Men to obscure so clear a Testimony against the *Jews*, and *Judaizing* Christians? *Erasmus* says, the *Greek* is dubious. Grant it. But the Sense and Scope of the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* is plain and manifest, who calls Christ the Son of God, by whom the World was made, the Splendor of the Father's Glory, the Character of his Essence, who supports all Things by his powerful Word. The Divine Glory and Majesty of Christ, his Pre-eminence above all Angels, and the most excellent Creatures, this Divine Author designed to prove in the following Verses to the end of the Chapter against the *Gnostics*, and other Heretics, who commonly equalled their *Æons*, Angels, and Powers to the Son of God. This is especially ⁴ to be noted, because otherwise his elaborate Comparison between Christ who is God, and the Creature Angels is flat. But if the place of the *Psalmist* is so to be understood, as *Erasmus* and *Grotius* would have it, how does it serve this pur-

¹ p. 287, in fine, and 288. ² In their Notes upon the place. ³ See both of them upon Heb. i. 8. ⁴ Compare Colos. ch. i. 8, 9, 10. 18, 19.

pose? And what sober Man doubts, but that the Author in the Verses immediately following intended, from the same *Psalmist*, to shew that Christ is that Lord, who in the beginning founded the Earth, formed the Heavens, and when the whole Universe should fail, was to endure for ever? Again, supposing the Words dubious, surely the Authority of the Antients should weigh down the Scale. Not only *Justin*, but with him all the Antients interpret ὁ Θεός in the Vocative Case. Thus it is frequently used by the 70 in the *Psalms*, and besides it is familiar with the *Greeks*, especially the *Attics* to take the Nominative Case vocatively. The antient *Jews* (however the modern *Rabbins* dote) interpret this place as we Christians. *Aquila* (according to *Jerome*) translates אלהי אלהים. What *Origen*¹ says is very remarkable, that he greatly puzzled a learned *Jew* with this Testimony, and that the *Jew*, when he could not extricate himself, answered as became him, that these Words [*Thy Throne, O God, &c.*] belonged to the God of the Universe, but those [*Thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity, &c.*] to Christ. The learned *Jew*, ready enough at any Evasion, never dreamt of the *Erasmian* and *Grotian* Comment, *That God is the Throne of the Messiah*. In the mean while we accept, what *Grotius* grants, that for ὁ Θεός in the *Hebrew* stands אלהים, a Word used for many, whether Angels, or Judges; but when applied to one, as in this place, suitable to God only, because then taken Elliptically for אלהי אלהים.

6. A Passage of this Author in the following Part of this *Dialogue* is observable. There *Trypho*, as he ought, interprets the Testimony of *Isaiah* [*a Rod shall go out of the Root of Jesse, and the Spirit of God shall rest upon him, &c.*] concerning Christ, and then puts this Question about the Testimony, to *Justin*: “² Since you affirm that
 “ he was very God before, and assert that he was incar-
 “ nate by the Council and Will of God, and born Man
 “ of a Virgin; how can he be shewn to pre-exist [as
 “ God] who is filled, or completed, or supplied by the

¹ Contr. Cels. lib. 1. p. 43. ² p. 314.

“ Powers

“ Powers of the Holy Spirit (which the Word by *Isaiah*
 “ enumerates) as though before he was without them?
 “ *Justin* answers, You’ve askt a discreet and prudent Que-
 “ stion. It does indeed seem absurd, but that you may
 “ understand it, mind what I say. The Word does not
 “ say, that the Powers of the Spirit enumerated, came
 “ upon him, as a Person who was without, or stood in
 “ need of them; but that they were about to rest upon
 “ him, *i. e.* to terminate in him, so that there should be
 “ no more Prophets amongst you, as usual antiently.
 “ This you may plainly see; for since him there has not
 “ been one Prophet amongst you.” I confess this is a
 strange Interpretation of the Prophet’s Words, which all
 Men see are to be explained of the Man Christ in an ex-
 traordinary manner endowed with the Gifts of the Spirit.
 However, it is hence manifest, that *Justin* firmly held this
 Hypothesis, *i. e.* That the Son of God is the most ab-
 solute perfect Being, very God, that he wants nothing,
 not even the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. For thus *Trypho*
 argues. The true God can want nothing; *Isaiah* says,
 that Christ wanted the Gifts of the Holy Spirit; there-
 fore *Justin*, Christ is not true God, as you contend. *Ju-*
stin admits his Proposition, but denies his Assumption.
 His Disputation with *Trypho* was about the God Christ,
 though he mis-interprets the Place of *Isaiah*. If he had
 been of *Arius*’s side, he might very easily have answered
Trypho, that there was no Absurdity in the Case, upon
 Supposition that the Son of God might want the Grace
 of God, and was capable of Improvement, as being a
 Creature, and made God by Adoption. For *Arius* was
 not afraid to say openly, that the Son of God was *liable*
to Conversion and Change, capable of Virtue and Vice, as he
pleased, ¹ But if *Justin* had thus answered, he had clear-
 ly overturned his own precedent Reasonings; in which
 he makes it his whole Business to prove that our Saviour
 is true God, and to be worshipped.

¹ Vide Socratem. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 1. Ch. 6. and 9.

7. The same *Justin* in another Place observes, that he who appeared to *Moses* in the Bush (and he every where professes that was the Son of God) called himself *ὁ ὢν*, ¹ he that is; and upon that expressly notes that that Expression belongs to the ever existent God. I will cite the Passage at large in a more convenient Place, when I speak of the Son's Coeternity. I must add a very remarkable Place of this Author's in his excellent Epistle to *Diognetus*. No learned Man (that I know) doubts whether it is genuine, and *Sculterus* ² places it amongst his uncontested Writings. What *Sandius* says, that *Bellarmino* has not so much as nam'd it in the Catalogue of his Works, is frivolous. It is plain *Bellarmino* follow'd the *Paris Ed.* 1551. by *Robert Stephans*: In which this Epistle and the Oration to the Gentiles is omitted; and afterwards 1592, printed separately with a Latin Version, and large Notes by *Henry Stephans*, the Son of *Robert*. This is the Reason of the Omission of the *Oration to the Gentiles* also, a Peice that every one must believe to be *Justin's*, who shall read it with Attention, and compare it with his other Writings. *Fredericus Sylburgius* ³ has well observed the same, concerning this Epistle: But what occasion for many Words? *Sandius* ⁴ himself has own'd it genuine in another Place. Let us now cite this very ample Testimony, we promis'd out of this Epistle: These are the Words: ⁵ " He, the Almighty, the Creator of
 " all Things, the invisible God, he hath planted among
 " Men, and engraved in their Hearts, the Heavenly Truth,
 " the word Holy and Incomprehensible; not sending (as
 " any one would conjecture) a Servant, an Angel, a Prince,
 " an Earthly Potentate, or one to whom he had entrusted
 " the Administration of heavenly Things; but the Ar-
 " tificer and Maker of all Things, by whom he formed
 " the Heavens, and shut in the Sea in its proper Bounds;
 " whose Mysteries all the Elements faithfully observe,
 " from whom the Sun has received his charge to measure

¹ p. 19, 20.
stin. p. 501.

² De Scriptoribus Eccl. p. 20.

⁴ Enucl. Hist. p. 76.

³ Nota in Ju-

⁵ p. 498.

“ out the Day, whom the Moon obeys, when he com-
 “ mands her to shine in the Night, and the Stars, which
 “ follow the Course of the Moon; by whom all Things
 “ are ordered and bounded, to whom all Things are sub-
 “ ject, the Heavens, the Earth, the Sea, and all that in
 “ them is; the Fire, the Water, the Abyfs, what is in
 “ the Heights, and Depths, and betwixt them: Him he
 “ hath sent to them. For what end? As a Man would
 “ think, to tyrannize over them; to awe and terrify them?
 “ No, He sent him as a King sends a King his Son, in
 “ Clemency and Meekness. He sent him as a God. He
 “ sent him to Men. He sent him to save, &c.” The
 Place is very well worthy Observation, as it excellently
 describes the profound Mystery of Man’s Redemption,
 and makes sufficient Recompence for all the other Places,
 in which the Holy Author seems to speak less honourably
 of the Son of God. But to the present Purpose, what
 can be more exprefs for the Divinity of the Son of God
 against *Arianism*? He plainly denies that the Son of God
 is a Servant, or Creature (Terms equivalent, as I have of-
 ten noted, and as is of it self clear enough) he calls him
 incomprehensible, the Maker and Creator of all Things, by
 whom the whole Frame of the World, Heaven and Earth,
 is governed and sustained. To whom all Creatures, of
 whatsoever Order, are subject and obedient, as to their
 Author, their God and Lord. He says, he was sent in-
 to this World, as a King by a King, a God by a God,
 a King the Son, by a King the Father, God the Son
 by God the Father. I said above ¹, that the Passage of
 St. Paul to the *Philip.* and the parallel Place of *Clement*
 to the *Corinth.* received great Light from this Place; they
 also give Light to it. Let the Reader judge. What St.
 Paul says of Christ before his Exinanition, that he was
 in the Form of God, and what St. Clement says, that he was
 the Sceptre of the Magnificence of God, *Justin* thus ex-
 pounds, That Christ was not the Servant of God (not ha-
 ving taken upon him the Form of a Servant, a created

¹ Scr. C. 3. n. 4. of this Section.

Nature) but the very Lord and Creator of all things. What St. Paul says, that Christ afterwards took upon him the *Form of a Servant, and was made Man* is thus expressed by *Justin*, that the Word, and Son of God was sent from Heaven, and *placed among Men*. Lastly, what St. Paul teaches, that Christ when he came to Men, did not *claim his Equality with the Father, but emptied himself*; and what St. Clement says, that Christ did not *come in the Ostentation, or with the Show of Pride and Arrogance, although he might, but in Humility*. *Justin* intends, when he tells us, that the Word, the Son of God was sent into the World by the Father, *not with Tyranny, Awe, and Terror*, not in the Pomp of his tremendous Divine Majesty; but in *Clemency and Lenity, as one who was sent to Men*. A very apposite Collation sure! †

8. I will conclude my Citations from *Justin* with a Place of the second *Apology*, as it is commonly called, in which the Holy Martyr professes a Trinity of Divine Persons, which are jointly to be worshiped with the same Religious Worship, and which alone, excluding all Creatures, deserve such Worship. For there, where the Infidels accuse the Christians as Atheists, because they reject the Worship of Idols, *Justin* answers, That the Christians are not Atheists, for though they despise the Gods of the *Gentiles* falsely so called and esteemed, they religiously worship and adore the one true God in three

† Dr. Whitby says, p. 45. that if the Epistle to Diognetus be *Justin's*, he has contradicted himself in it, and in his other Works. In this Epistle he has contradicted himself by calling the Father the Maker of all Things, and quickly adding, that the Father sent the Maker and Creator of all Things. Thus also he has contradicted his *Apol. ii. p. 36*, &c. For though in this Epistle he asserts him the Son to be the Maker of all Things, and denies he is an Angel or Minister, in the *Apology* and in his Dialogue with Trypho, he says the contrary. The Orthodox can easily give him a Plaster for this Sore, as he expresses himself, and if they are of no Authority with him, hope St. Paul may. He has called the same Person God over all, and a Servant. He has said that the Father made the Worlds by the Son, and in the same Chapter applied these Words directly to the Son: Thou, Lord, in the Beginning hast laid the Foundation, &c. The Epistle then for all this may be genuine, unless to imitate St. Paul be an Argument that it is spurious.

Persons. ² These are his Words. *We confess our selves Atheists, that is, without such as you esteem Gods; but not without the true God, the Father of Justice, Chastity, and all other Virtues, who hath not in him any Mixture of Evil. Him we worship and adore, and his Son, (who proceedeth from him, and who hath taught us, or revealed to us the Host of good Angels † his other Followers, who are made like unto him,) and the Prophetic Spirit, reverencing them with Reason and Truth.* From this Place Bellarmine endeavours to prove the religious Worship of Angels, which if done, will destroy our Argument for the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit. Bellarmine reads the Words with the Note of Distinction after [*who hath taught us these Things*] and the Host of Angels. To this *Sculetus* ² justly provoked, gives this sharp answer. “ But what Reason does “ he give for this Distinction invented in the Roman “ School? None. We reject therefore *Perionius*’s sophi- “ stical Punctuation. *Justin* every where tells us that the “ Son has revealed all Things to us, even God himself. “ He adds, in this Place, that we are taught by him the “ Mystery of the Angels. Was this to be separated from “ the Context by a Jesuitical Point, that the superstitious “ Worship of Angels might be authorized by *Justin*? “ Did’st thou not observe, *Sycophant*, that if this Puncta- “ tion was received, the Holy Ghost would be made “ inferior to Angels, contrary to *Justin*’s constant Sense, “ be only to be worshipt in the fourth Place? Would’st “ thou have turned one Page farther, the Obscuri- “ ty of this Place would have been cleared up. *There* “ *he teaches* that the Father is to be worshipt in the first “ Place, the Son in the second, and the Holy Ghost in

² p. 56. † See Dr. Clark’s Translation, p. 371. Scr. Doctr.—
 “ Who came forth from him, and taught these Things to us, and to
 “ the whole Host of good Angels, which follow, and imitate him—&c.”
 This Translation he enforces plausibly, by a parallel Place of *Irenæus*.
 I can’t think either the Doctor’s or Bellarmine’s Sense is right; but ra-
 ther that *Justin* acquaints the Heathens, with a Revelation Christ had
 made to his Disciples of the Ministry of Angels, not such as theirs, im-
 pious and wicked, but ἀλλων τῶν ἐπομένων, &c. ἀγαθῶν. ² *Scul-*
teti Medulla Patrum Cap. 18.

“ the

“ the third, not allowing the Angels a fourth or fifth
 “ place. Wouldst thou have consulted the *Dialogne* in-
 “ titled *Trypho*, thou wouldst have found it demonstrated
 “ from the worship paid to him, that the Angel, who
 “ appeared to *Lot*, was the Son of God. A Demonstra-
 “ tion of no force, if we may worship Angels*.” To
 this we may add, what is chiefly observable in the Words
 of *Justin*, from which *Bellarmino* would draw the wor-
 ship of Angels, that Angels are expressly called τὰς ἐπομένους,
 ministring Spirits (thus in the place just cited from the
 Epistle to *Diognetus*, he calls them ὑπηρέτας, and excepts
 the Son and Holy Spirit out of this Order) and therefore
 not to be adored. But why, you'll say, is mention made
 of it, that we are taught by the Son of God the Ministry
 of Angels? And why is that inserted by a Parenthesis in
 the Character of the Son? That Parenthesis (which I de-
 sire the Reader would exactly observe) belongs to what
Justin had spoke of immediately before in the same place.
Justin had said that *Socrates*, for asserting that the one true
 God was only to be worshipped, refusing the Heathen
 Idols as Dæmons, i. e. evil Spirits, and hateful to God,
 was killed as an Atheist, and impious, by wicked Men at
 the Instigation of the Devil. Then he adds, that the same
 had happened to Christians. These are his Words: “ And
 they do the same with us. Not only *Socrates* shewed the
 Greeks these Things by the Word, but they are manifested
 among the Barbarians by the same Word formed and made Man,
 even by *Jesus Christ*; believing in him we say not only that the
 Dæmons doing these Things are not good, but evil and impious,
 unlike in their Actions to Men of virtuous Inclinations†. Af-
 ter he had said that we by the Christian Faith were taught
 to avoid the worship of evil Angels, he immediately and
 very

* Dr. Whitby will have it, that because the three Persons are to be
 worshipt after one another, therefore the Worship is unequal, and because
 the Worship is unequal, therefore the Essence is so; but how these are
 Consequences, is difficult to apprehend. † p. 56. † The Animad-
 versions Dr. Whitby has made upon this Church are many, but scarce
 worthy Notice, he argues a great while without an Adversary, against
 the Sabellians, (but perhaps he never does any Thing else throughout his
 whole

very properly adds in the said Parenthesis, that by the same Christ we are instructed that there are other Angels, good ones, and ministring Spirits to God together with us, and therefore not to be worshipped; so that the Parenthesis must be thus rendered and expounded: *Who hath taught us these Things*, namely, what went before about not worshipping evil Angels, and also that there are good Angels ministring to God, and imitating his Goodness. The whole is this; By Christ we are instructed as well concerning the evil, as the good Angels; of the evil, that they are rebellious against God, and therefore rather worthy Execration than Worship; of the good, that they are ministring Spirits, obeying God, and imitating his Goodness as far as they can, therefore not to be worshipped. This place then is so far from being serviceable to *Bellarmino*, or the *Papists*, that it affords an invincible Argument against the religious Worship of Angels, and clearly shews, that according to the Mind of the Primitive Christians, such Worship was not due to Angels, nor to any Ministers or Servants of God, *i. e.* not to any Creature, but to him only who created all Things, to whom all Things are subject, to the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; which entirely overthrows all the Fictions of the *Arians* and *Anti-Trinitarians*. The Passages of *Justin*, which seem inconsistent with these, we shall weigh hereafter when we consider the *Subordination*¹. But I'm afraid I shall take no Notice of one place by *Sandius* cited; in which *Justin* is said to have taught that the Son of God *is a created Angel*. The Reader may be assured that *Justin* never said any such thing, and that *Sandius*, according to his Custom, has impudently coin'd it for the Holy Martyr*.

9. *Athena-*

whole Book,) p. 29. he gives his Reader a Distinction of Plato's, and calls it Justin's. p. 30. He grossly misapplies Justin's Argument for the Divinity of the Word; p. 31. inserts [non essentiae ejusdem communicatione] exclusive Expressions, where there are no such Words in the Author, nor was it his Mind. p. 40. strangely misunderstands an Hypothetical Argument, ad hominem, for the Sense of Justin.

¹ Sect. 4. * Dr. Grabe's Annotations supply us with several other Citations from Justin, p. 354. in the Dialogue with Trypho, p. 267.

collated

9. *Athenagoras* very plainly owns the Communion of Nature and Essence between the Father and the Son. About to explain to the Heathen Philosophers, who this Son of God is, whom the Christians worship, he says, 'That the Son of God is the Word of the Father in Idea and Energy. All Things were by him, and for him, the Father, and the Son being one, the Son in the Father, and the Father in the Son by the Unity and Power of the Spirit. The Son of God is the Mind and Word of the Father. What *Arian* has spoken so of the Son of God? He says the Father and the Son are one, not by Consent only, as the *Arians* contend; but by a mutual Comprehension, or, as the Schoolmen speak, a Circuminfession; so that the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son. He says the Son is the very Mind and Word of the Father (in what Sense that is to be understood we shall shew hereafter) ². This however is certain, that it is no way consistent with the *Arian* Doctrine. Nor is it to be neglected, that *Athenagoras* speaking of the Creation, which in Scripture is attributed to the Son, not only teaches that all Things were made by him † *δι' αὐτοῦ*, as an Instrument of no Force in it self, which the *Arians* grant; but by him *πρὸς αὐτοῦ*, as an efficient Cause in Conjunction with the Father: And that

collated with the former, p. 284, 254, 275, 281. collate p. 283, with 227. for the Sense of *ἕτερον θεόν*, p. 340, 287, 293, 294. collated with p. 31. *Apol.* 1. Ed. *Grab.* p. 32. In all which places the Divinity and Consubstantiality of Christ is asserted from his being the Object of Adoration, his appearing and assisting the Patriarchs, from the Scripture of the Old Testament, and from his being begotten of God by himself. And I take the Liberty to observe upon one Passage produced by Dr. Whitby, p. 32. It is generally asserted by the *Arians*, that God is a Term of Relation respecting Power, Sovereignty, &c. and that all intended by a Communication of the Godhead from the Father to the Son is only this: But Justin says, That the Father is *αἰσίδε αὐτῷ τῷ ἱσχυρῷ καὶ κυρίῳ καὶ θεῷ*. This in good Sense should be translated, is the Cause of his being powerful Lord and God; but according to the *Arian* *Θεός*, is the same as *ἡγετὸς* and *κύριος*, and the whole a gross Tautology. This will also be the Case of very many other places, if rendered by this Rule. p. 10. Sect. 3. ch. 5. n. 4, 5, 6.

† Dr. Clarke is cited by the Author of the *Queries*, concerning the Distinction implied in the Prepositions *διὰ* and *ὑπὸ*; but no Notice is

that, for this Reason, that the Father and the Son are one, namely in Nature and Essence, and therefore in Power and Operation, which is diametrically opposite to *Arianism*. A little after in the same place, *Athenagoras* expressly denies that the Son in the beginning proceeded from the Father to create the World ¹, as *being made* or *created* by the Father, which cuts the very Throat of *Arianism*. The place we will cite at large in the third Section. A little after he gives us a full Confession of the consubstantial Trinity in these Words: *Who would not Wonder to hear us call'd Atheists, who say there is God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and explain their Power in Unity, and their Division in Order?* To which we have a parallel place elsewhere in the same Book, in these Words, explaining the Opinion of the Christians concerning the Trinity. ² *We say there is a God, and the Son his Word, and the Holy Spirit, united in Power, Father, Son and Spirit. For the Son is the Mind, the Word, the Wisdom of the Father, and the Spirit is his Efflux, as the Light from the Fire.* Here we may plainly gather, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God; that there is one Fountain of the Divinity, namely, the Father, from whose Essence the Son and Holy Spirit are derived; so that the Son is the *Word* born and existing from Eternity of the Father's Mind (I shall clearly shew hereafter that *Athenagoras* meant thus) and that the Holy Spirit so flows out of, and proceeds from the Father through the Son (as I've shewn before) as Light proceeds from the Fire. By the bye you may observe, that *Athenagoras* equally acknowledges the Consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost, as of the Son. * The Divine Philosopher proceeds immediately to speak of Angels, and calls them *Powers different from the Father, the Son, and*

taken of *πρός*, though as strong as *διὰ*. In short these Prepositions are used promiscuously, but if the Author would infer from them a Subordination, he needs not give himself any Trouble; our Author will supply him with much better Arguments for it. Dr. Whitby without giving any Reason for it, but his own prejudicate Opinion, will have *Athenagoras* write *πρός αὐτόν*. ¹ p. 11. ² p. 27.

* The Doctor pretends all the Authorities from *Athenagoras* to be Interpolations, but has not thought fit to prove it in one Instance.

the

the Holy Spirit, as being infinitely distant from the uncreated Nature of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Hence a little after he expressly says, Angels are made by God. What *Petavius*, *Sandius*, and others have cited from *Athenagoras* as favouring *Arianism*, I shall shew in the third¹ Section concerning the Son's Co-eternity to be mistaken. As for the other Fathers of the first three Centuries, I here tell my Reader once for all, that whatever Passages out of them are alledged for the *Arian* Cause, though the Consideration of them is omitted here, they are, if I mistake not, clearly accounted for in the third and fourth Section.

10. We have before heard *Tatian's*² saying, that the Son is begotten of the Father, not by *Abscission*, but *Participation*, or Communication of the Father's Essence, as one Fire is kindled by another, which clearly declares the Consubstantiality of the Son, as I shewed in the same place³. *Theophilus Antiocenus*,⁴ in his Books to *Autolycus*, the only remains of his Works, has some things which greatly confirm this Catholic Doctrine. Thus⁵ the Word being God, and born of God. Where he gathers that the Son is God, because born of God; according to the Rule I have somewhere mentioned out of *Irenæus*⁶. What is born of God, is God*. The same Person but a little before had told us, that by the Son of God we must by all means understand the Word, always Existent in the Mind of God; manifestly signifying, that the Son always subsisted in the Essence of the Father. That he acknowledged the whole Trinity, is also plain from his teaching, ⁷ That the three Days before the Creation of the Sun and Moon, were Types of the Trinity, of God, his Word, and his Wisdom.

¹ Ch. 5. ² Dr. Grabe adds two Citations from *Tatian*, Sect. 22. p. 54. Lin. 8. Ed. Worth. Sect. 35. p. 77. Lin. 9. ³ N. 4. of this Chapter. ⁴ *Theophilus* has more to this purpose, Book 3. p. 122. and again in the end of the third Book. ⁵ p. 100. ⁶ p. 36. *Iren.*

* This Passage of *Irenæus*, Dr. Whitby suggests to be not his Opinion, but that of the *Valentinians*; but this is a Misrepresentation. For *Irenæus* there shewing how the *Valentinians* abused good Principles, and wrested them to their purpose, together with several Passages of *St. John* mentions the Words cited, but no where engages in the Confutation of them, or once notes them as Heretical, but the contrary. ⁷ p. 94.

Petavius (who seems to have read the Fathers on purpose to find fault with them) calumniates *Theophilus* for these Words: ¹“*Theophilus* explains the Trinity far otherwise than it is in the Christian Profession. For he says the three Days in the beginning of the World preceding the Creation of the Sun and Moon were a Figure of the Trinity, of God, *his Word*, and *his Wisdom*. There is no mention of the *Spirit*, which he seems to confound with the *Word*. For we have before shewn that he has called the *Word* the *Spirit of God*, and truly *Wisdom*.” To which I answer; That the Antients used the Names of the second and third Persons in common, because of their common Nature and Derivation from the same Fountain of the Deity. Hence, as they sometimes call the second Person the *Spirit of God* (I’ve shewed this before) the usual Name for the third; so they sometimes call the third by the Name of *Wisdom*, the usual Name of the second. I shall elsewhere observe this from *Irenaeus* ² and *Origen*, as well as *Theophilus*. Nor are the Fathers therefore to be censured, as confounding the second and third Persons, because from their Writings, and even from those Places, where they confound the Names, it is very plain they distinguish the Persons. *Theophilus*’s own Words are sufficient to clear him. How can he be thought to have confounded the third Person of the Deity with *the Word*, who expressly professes a Trinity? Can the Father and Son without a third Person distinct from both constitute a Trinity? It is therefore manifest that *Theophilus* did not confound the Persons, but the Names.

II. I must ask my Reader’s leave to turn off a little from the Monuments of the Holy Fathers, to the Writings of an Heathen. The Author of a *Dialogue* ascribed to *Lucian*, and entitled *Philopatriis* ³, near the end, scoffingly brings in a Christian catechizing an Heathen (whom he therefore somewhere in that *Dialogue* calls a *Catechumen*) and among other Things explaining the Mystery of the

¹ De Trinitate, lib. 1. c. 3. n. 6.
² See ch. 5. n. 7. of this
 Section, and ch. 3. n. 11. of the 4th Section.
 Vol. 2. Ed. Hagen. 1535.

³ Luciani opera, p. 932.

Trinity. The Heathen asks the Christian, By whom then shall I swear? *Triephon*, the Christian, answers; "By the sublime God, Great, Immortal, Heavenly, the Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One of Three, and Three of One. Take these for your *Jove*, deem this your God." The Heathen replies to this: "I know not what you say, One Three, Three One." Every Body must see the consubstantial Doctrine of the Trinity is here taught, or one God in three Persons. Now there is no doubt, but the Author had taken this from the Christian Discipline of that Age. If this *Dialogue* was *Lucian's*, he flourisht in the times of *Marcus Antoninus* (as that great Man *J. Gerard Vossius* has clearly proved) about the 170th Year of Christ, a little after *Justin*, and was Contemporary with *Tatian* and *Athenagoras*, whose Doctrine I've just explained. But *Jacobus Micellus* in the *Argument* of this *Dialogue* says it may be doubted, whether this *Dialogue* is *Lucian's*. As to the Argument, indeed it is not unlike his Genius and Scurrility, but the Phrase and Composition are different from every Thing else he has wrote. Other learned Men have gone into his Sentiments. Nevertheless, the same *Micellus* adds, that "Whoever was the Author, he seems especially to intend a Congratulation to *Trajan* for his Victory obtained in the *East*, against those, who about that time presaged Perils and Slaughter to the City, or some other place (for he only calls it *Pairia*). These Persons from the beginning he calls *Sophists*, but so describes them at the end, as that one would almost take them for Christians. Hence he mentions in the end the *Persian Grandeur*, *Susa*, and all the Country of the *Arabians*; all which were conquered by *Trajan*, and again brought under the *Roman* Yoke, at that time, as we may see in *Dio*, *Eutropius*, and other Historians of that Age." If this be true, we may learn what the Faith of the Christians was under *Trajan*, a great while before *Lucian*. But I should rather think, that the Victory of *M. Antoninus* (in

¹ De Græcis Histor. lib. 2. c. 15.

whose times *Lucian* flourish) over the *Persians* is intended in the end of the *Dialogue*. For thus *Sextus Aurelius* writes of him; ¹ *Under his Conduct the Persians were at last subdu'd, though they had the better at first.* And so plainly the Author of the *Dialogue* speaks near the end, where he brings in one *Cleolans* in great haste, puffing and blowing, to tell the joyful News: *The Grandeur of the Persians antiently celebrated is fall'n, and Susa the famous City.* The Notice also that is taken of certain Persons in this *Dialogue*, who complained of the great Calamities of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and prefiged greater, points out the times of *Marcus Antoninus*. Hear what *Aurelius Victor* writes concerning the beginning of this Reign. “² *M. Antoninus* reigned eighteen Years. He was a Man of all Virtue, and a heavenly Wit, exposed, as a Defender, to public Calamities. For if he had not been born for those Times, the *Roman State* had perished all at once. There was no rest from Arms, and the Heat of War through all the East, *Illyria, Italy, and Gaul*; Earthquakes which destroyed Cities, Inundations, frequent Plagues, a kind of Locust that devoured the Fruits, every Thing that could the most sensibly afflict Mankind, raged in his Reign.” This *Dialogue* therefore was either wrote by *Lucian* himself (which is my Sentiment) or by a Contemporary of his (which is the same for my purpose). Let us hear now what ³ *Sandius* says against this Testimony. “I should say indeed that *Trypho* (it should be *Triepho*) intended that sort of Men mentioned by *Clem. Rom. Constit. 6. 25.* by *Ignatius* ⁴ and *Justin*, against *Trypho*, who are antienter than *Lucian*.” He cares not what he says, or makes to serve his impious Cause. Who does not see that the Author of this *Dialogue* does not purpose to ridicule any one Sect, but the whole Christian Religion? Moreover, the Heretics we read of in the Places noted by *Sandius*, said the Son was the God over all, *i. e.* the Father. But in this short Confession of the Trinity,

¹ In Libro de Cæsaribus, in M. Aurelio Antonino.

M. Antonino.

³ Enecl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 88.

Tarfeus.

² Epitome.

⁴ Ep. ad Trall. &

the sublime God, namely, the Father, is first named, as the Fountain of the Deity ; then the Son of the Father, as a Person distinct from the supreme God, and Father of all Things ; who yet is so joined in Nature with the Spirit to the Father, as that they three make one God ; and yet are three ; which Doctrine is, and always was, the Doctrine of the Catholics, but widely different from the Opinion of *Sandius's* Heretics. Besides, ¹ *Critias* the pretended *Catechumen* derides this Doctrine as incomprehensible, because of the *one three, and three one* ; but *Sandius's* Heretics defined God to be one single Person, who under a three-fold Appearance, was sometimes called *Father*, sometimes *Son*, and sometimes *Holy Ghost*, in which Sentiment there is nothing incomprehensible. Lastly, *Critias* afterwards in the same place scoffingly swears by the Son, being instructed by *Triephton*, thus : *By the Son, who proceeds from the Father, this shall not be.* Now the Catholics acknowledged the Son, as existing from the Father : But the Heretics, whose Sense *Sandius* would have explained in this *Dialogue*, did not. It is a clear Case.

¹ Lucian, p. 937.



C H A P. V.

*Irenæus's Doctrine concerning the Son of God,
plainly confirming the Nicene Creed.*

LET us now attentively hear what the Holy Bishop and Martyr *Irenæus* learnt of his Apostolical Master *Polycarp*, and taught others concerning this Matter. I have promised before what famous Testimonies I would bring against the *Arians* from this Writer ; whether I have discharged my self, or not, I leave to the Judgment of any Man not exceeding partial, *Book 3. Ch. 6.* *Irenæus* is wholly taken up in proving, that *neither our Lord, nor the Holy Spirit,*

*Spirit, nor the Apostles did ever definitively and absolutely call him God, who was not God, unless he was true God ; nor any one Lord in his own Person, unless him, who rules all Things, God the Father, and his Son. A little after he alledges the same Testimony ¹ with Justin ; Thy Throne, O God, is for ever, &c. and subjoins, By the name God the Spirit signify both, the Son, who is anointed, and the Father, who anoints him. Hence we form this Argument : Whosoever is in Holy Scripture definitively and absolutely called God, is true God : But the Son as well as the Father is in Scripture definitively and absolutely called God : Therefore the Son as well as the Father is true God. The Premisses are *Ireneus's*, and the Conclusion necessarily follows from them. *Ireneus* adds, That when the Scripture calls those Gods ², who are not so, it does not absolutely signify them to be Gods ; but with Addition, and Qualification, by which they are shewn not to be Gods.*

2. To this we must add another place ; ³ “ Our Lord “ and Master (says he) in the Answer he gave to the Sadducees, who say there is no Resurrection, thereby dishonouring God, and derogating from the Law, both shewed there was a Resurrection, and manifested a God, when he said to them, *Ye err not knowing the Scripture, nor the Power of God. Have ye not heard concerning the Resurrection, what was spoken by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ? And he added, God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living, for all live to him.* By these Words he made it manifest, that he is the God of the Living, who spake to *Moses* out of the Bush, and manifested himself to be the * God of the Fathers. For who should be God of the Living, but he who is God over all, and over whom there is no other God.” And a little after ; ⁴ “ Therefore the living God who was adored by the Prophets, is the God of the Living, and his Word, who spoke to *Moses*, who refuted the *Pharisees*, and

¹ p. 246. *Ibid.* ² *Ibid.* ³ p. 328. * I believe it is false Printed in Bishop Bull [Deum Patrem] Feuarentius, from whose Edition he cited it, reads [Deum Patrum]. ⁴ *Ibid.*

“ proved

“ proved [gave] the Resurrection.” Sometime after he thus concludes, “ Therefore Christ with the Father is the God of the Living, who spoke to *Moses*, and was manifested to the Fathers.” What can be more clear? According to *Irenæus*, he that spoke to *Moses* out of the Bush, and manifested himself to the Fathers, is the living God, the God of the Living, God over all, above whom there is no other God; and according to the same *Irenæus*, Christ with the Father is he who spoke to *Moses*, and was manifested to the Fathers; therefore Christ with the Father is the living God, the God of the Living, God over all, above whom there is no God; which *Irenæus* affirms in Terms ¹.

3. This is greatly confirmed by *Irenæus*’s Citation of *St. Paul* in the same Words, and the same Sense *, in which the Catholics now take it. For being about to prove against the Heretics, *That Jesus was not one, and Christ another, but both one and the same* †, after other places he cites this of *St. Paul*; ² and again, writing to the *Romans* concerning *Israel*, he says, *Whose are the Fathers, and of whom is Christ according to the Flesh, who is over all God blessed for ever.* *Erasmus*, and others who have followed him, have endeavoured to render this irrefragable Testimony uncertain: For he has invented a threefold Construction of the Words, one of which only acknowledges the Deity of the Son. But the antient Father *Irenæus* knew no other than the received Reading and Construc-

¹ p. 328. * *Dr. Whitby says, not in the same Sense, but is forced to omit the word Deum, or God, in Irenæus. A strange way of supporting true Religion by such gross repeated Acts of Falsehood. Vide Erasmus in locum, item Feuardentii Comment. in Irenæi locum, &c.*

† *Dr. Whitby expresses an uncommon concern that the Bishop should impose upon his Reader, in telling him that it was Irenæus’s Purpose in this place to prove that Jesus and Christ were one and the same God. But the Bishop has no where said so. The word [God] is a Forgery of the Doctor’s. Again, though it was not the purpose of this Christ to prove that Point, yet it is plainly asserted in it,—Sed unum & eundem sciremus Deum fuisse, with more to the same end, as the Doctor owns.* ² p. 276. *Rom. ix. 3.*

tion; ¹ nor *Tertullian*, nor *Novation*, nor *Cyprian*, (tho' *Erasmus* has told us otherwise, being deceived by a false Copy,) nor *Origen*, nor *Athanasius*, nor *Greg. Nyssen*, nor *Marius Victorinus*, nor *Hilarius*, nor *Ambrose*, nor *Augustine*, nor *Cyril*, nor *Idacius*, nor *Cassian*, nor *Greg. Magnus*, nor *Isidorus Hispalensis*, nor almost any other of the Fathers. "They (says *Petavius* ²) bring *Erasmus* in guilty " of strange Rashness, because he is not afraid to say : " *Those who contend that it is clearly evinced from this place,* " *that Christ is plainly called God, either seem to trust little to* " *the other Scripture Testimonies, or to have a mean Opinion* " *of the Wit of the Arians, or not attentively to consider the* " *Words of the Apostle.*" *Petavius* adds, *This is false and impudent*, for which *Beza* has reprehended him. But I return to *Irenæus*,

4. In a very noted Place ³ he says, *God made all Things in Measure, and Order; and there is nothing that is not measured by him, because nothing not compounded by him. And he spoke well, who said that the immense Father himself is measured in the Son; for the Son is the measure of the Father, because he contains, or comprehends him.* What can be clearer? He teaches that the Son is commensurate to the immense Father, that he contains and comprehends him, how great soever he is, and therefore is in all respects equal, except that he is from the Father. For to contain the Father, and be equal to the Father, is with *Irenæus* the same. Thus ⁴ in the Fable of *Valentinus*, where *Bythus* *begat Nun like and equal to himself, from whom he proceeded, and alone containing the Greatness of the Father.* But it is to be noted, that this is not a single Testimony, does

¹ Contra Prax. c. 8. & 15. de Trinitate, c. 13 & 30. Cypr. lib. 2. Testimon. contra Judæos, Origen in Rom. ix. 5. Athanas. Orat. 2 & 5. contra Arianos, & in lib. de communi Essentia. Greg. Nyss. lib. 10. contra Eunom. Marcus Victorinus, lib. 1. contra Arium. Hilar. lib. 4 & 8. Ambr. lib. 1. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 3. & lib. 4. de fide, cap. 6. August. lib. 2. de Trin. cap. 13. & lib. 1. contra Faust. cap. 3 & 6. Cyrill. lib. 1. Thesauri. Idacius contra Varimadum, lib. 1. Cassian. in initio, lib. 3. de Incarn. Greg. Mag. Homil. 8. in Ezech. Isidorus Hispal. Libro de different. Num. 2. ² De Trin. lib. 2. c. 9. v. 2. ³ p. 325. ⁴ p. 10.

not only declare the Sense of *Irenaus*, but also of an Author more antient, or at least Contemporary with him. Observe now how the ¹ Author of the *Irenicum* endeavours to evade this invincible Testimony. He answers, “† That *Irenaus* does not say the Son measures the Father every way, but he speaks of that measure he had just before spoke of, that he fulfils, performs, and contains those Things of the Law, which hitherto were measured and determined by the Father; or if he speaks of another measure, namely, that of Knowledge, he understands it perfect, in its Kind, not absolutely so.” As to the first Part of this Answer, it is plainly Sophistical. For the Words, upon which we rely, that *the immense Father is measured in the Son*, are not immediately connected with those which *Irenaus* spoke concerning the Law, in the beginning of the Chapter. There he affirms ², that there was a determined Time to the old ritual Law, that as it begun in *Moses*, it ended in *John*. Then passing from this particular to the universal, by the bye, he teaches that God made all Things in Order and Measure, that every thing is measured by God. The Holy Man employed in these Thoughts, is suddenly as it were in a Rapture, (a Thing not uncommon to these Writers) and beholds God so pleased with Measure and Proportion, as that he would have a Measure of himself, of his own Infinity and Immenstity. This he confirms by an excellent saying of a certain Catholic Writer, *That the immense Father himself, is measured in the Son, &c.* Then recollecting himself, and receding from this Flight, he comes again to the Point in Hand, the Proof, that all the old Testament Dispensation was temporal. Any attentive Reader, will soon find this to be a true Analysis of this Chapter. Besides, who in his Senses, can think it the Sense of these Words [*the immense Father himself, is measured in the Son, &c.*] That God would set a determinate Time to the ritual Law of *Moses*, that it should

¹ p. 46. † Dr. Whitby has advanced the same Objection as follow, without taking any Notice of the Answers given to them by Bishop Bull. ² p. 325.

begin with *Moses*, cease, be fulfilled and abolished by Christ? For *Irenæus* manifestly treats, not of the moral, perpetual, and eternal, but of the ceremonial Law, as you may plainly see in these Words: *It begun in Moses, and consequently ended in John*. He treats of the giving the Law, which was to have an end, when the Gospel was manifested. As to the second Answer, *Irenæus* speaks expressly, not of a Measure perfect in its Kind, but of an absolute, adequate Measure, such a Measure as that the immense Father, how immense soever, might be measured by it. There is certainly an Emphasis in the Word [*himself*], nor can these Words [*the immense Father himself, measured in the Son*] signify any Thing else, but that the Father, as immense, not to be comprehended by any Creature, is indeed comprehended by the Son. Whether *Greg. Thaummat.*¹ had respect to this Place, or not, I can't say, but he has given us the Sense of it, where he says that the Father did *circumscribe himself* by his Son, which a little after he explains, saying, that *he was equal in all Power to the Father*. Thirdly, the Sophist in vain endeavours to elude this Place by another². For neither does *Irenæus* there say, that a Man comprehends the Greatness of the Father, or that the immense Father himself is measured in him. And in another Place he clearly explains how a pious Man may contain God. The Words are these: “³ The Prophets foretold that Men should see God, as indeed our Lord says, *Blessed are the pure in Heart, for they shall see God*. But in his Greatness and wonderful Glory, no Man shall see God, and live. For the Father is incomprehensible; but this he will grant to those that love him, to see God in his Love, his Tendernefs, and his Omnipotence.” Here *Irenæus* expressly denies that *the pure in Heart see God*, comprehend him in his Greatness, &c. This Way God can't be seen by Man or Creatures (upon which Account he says a little before, that *God in his Greatness, is unknown to all*

¹ See the Place entire, Ch. 12. n. 4.
cap. 37. p. 370.

² p. 370.

³ Lib. 4.

that are made by him) but in the Place controverted, he clearly teaches that the Son comprehends his Father in his Greatness, so as that the *immense Father himself* is measured in the Son. More Words we need not, in so clear a Case.

5. It would be infinite to produce all, *Irenæus* has said in the Case, I'll therefore content my self with adding a few Testimonies, which strike at the very Foot of *Arianism*.¹ Thus he repreffes the prodigious Arrogance of the *Valentinians*, who pretended to Omniscience, by a Comparifon betwixt Man and the Son of God. " If
 " any one can't find out the Cause of all Things, let
 " him confider, that he is Man, infinitely less than God,
 " that he hath received Grace in Part, that he is not
 " equal or like to his Maker, that he can't have the
 " Knowledge and Experience of all Things, as God hath,
 " that so much as he who is made to Day, and had a
 " beginning, is less than him who was never made, and
 " is always the same, so much must he also be less in
 " Knowledge, and searching out the Causes of all Things.
 " For, O Man, thou art not unmade, thou didst not
 " always exist with God, as *his own proper Word*, but thro'
 " his eminent Goodness having received a beginning, thou
 " learn'ft by little and little of the *Word*, the Dispositions
 " of him that made thee. Keep the Order of thy Know-
 " ledge, and climb not above God, as being ignorant of
 " Good, &c." These Words are too clear to need any
 Explication or Deduction. There is another parallel place,
 2 where *Irenæus* makes a Comparifon between the Son of
 God, and the Creatures, thus: " Nor shall any Thing
 " made and in Subjection be compared with the Word of
 " God, by whom all Things were made, who is our
 " Lord Jesus Christ. Because, whether they are Angels,
 " or Arch-Angels, or Thrones, or Dominions, they are
 " made by him who is God over all, by his Word. So
 " *John* hath told us. For when he had said of the Word
 " of God, that he was in the Father, he added, *All Things*

“ were made by him, and without him, was nothing made.
 “ David, also when he had particularly enumerated his
 “ Praises, every Thing, the Heavens, and all the Powers
 “ therein, added, for he commanded, and they were created,
 “ he spoke, and they were made. Whom did he command?
 “ The Word; by whom the Heavens were made, and the
 “ Host of them by the Breath of his Mouth, David again
 “ says, That he made all Things freely, and as he would.
 “ Our God is in Heaven above, and on Earth, he hath done
 “ whatsoever pleased him. Now the Things that are made
 “ are different from him that made them, and those ap-
 “ pointed from him that appointed them. He is unmade,
 “ without beginnings, without end, he wants nothing, is
 “ self-sufficient, and gives to all other Things their Being.
 “ The Things made by him had a beginning, and as such
 “ may have an end, are subject, indigent. It is altoge-
 “ ther necessary they should have a different Name, espe-
 “ cially amongst Men of any Discernment in such Things;
 “ so that, he who made all Things, * *with his Word*, be
 “ justly and alone called *God and Lord*; but not that those,
 “ who are made, should participate, or justly take to
 “ themselves *the Name of their Creator*.” Here *Irenæus*
 plainly teaches, that the Word or Son of God is at such
 an infinite Distance from all Things, which are made and
 subjected, whatsoever they be, that they upon Account of
 their being constituted, made and subjected, are not to be
 compared with him. He teaches that the same Son of God is
 uncreated, as well as the Father; Eternal, wanting nothing,
 self-sufficient, and moreover giving to all Things their Be-
 ing. Moreover, he expressly teaches, that the Word, or

* Dr. Whitby would have the Particle [cum or with] left out, be-
 cause Dr. Grabe has observed that it is not in the *Arundel Manuscript*;
 and thus, says he, the Words will have another Sense, and the begin-
 ning and end of the Chapter be consistent. But if this were admitted,
 it would be of no Use to him; nay, it would render both the Doctor and
Irenæus inconsistent. How often in this Book has the Doctor called our
 Saviour God; and does he here affirm that he is not justly to be called
 so? Does not *Irenæus* in this place make a Distinction betwixt all created
 Beings and Christ? And this notwithstanding, is Christ a created Being?
 Or has the Doctor found some Medium?

Son of God, because uncreated, and the Creator of all Things ought to have the Fellowship of the same Name with the Father, but that it was abusively and improperly given to any other Being. Lastly, All these Things he asserts with such Heat, as to say they have not common Sense, who do not know how thus to distinguish between an uncreated Nature and Creatures. I know not whether any *Post-Nicene* Catholic Doctor has spoke more effectually against *Arianism*.

6. But yet this place has not escaped *Petavius's* Censure¹. The good Father had cited the Words of the *Psalmist*, *He commanded, and they were created, &c.* and added, *Whom did he command? The Son.* From hence the Jesuit gathers, that a certain under Part, a ministerial Function is attributed to the Son in the Creation, such as he signifies in another place². But where is the Candor and Equity of the Man? How easily might he have interpreted these Words in a good Sense by the Context? For God commanded his Son to create the World, not as a Lord commands his Servant, (*Irenaeus* expressly excepts him out of the Number of those Beings which are made, and in Subjection,) but as a Father his Son, partaker with him of the same uncreated Nature, and divine Power. God commanded his *Word* to make the World, *i. e.* it was the Will of God that the World should be made by his *Word*, the Will of the *Word* it self concurring. Hence *Petavius*³, having forgot himself, says in another place, that *Irenaeus* and some of the *Post-Nicene* Fathers, the severest Adversaries of the *Arian* Heresy used this way of speaking without Offence. Thus he writes: "There are some, who have
" used the same way of speaking, without Offence, so as
" to think those Words, *Let us make Man*, tend that way
" have an imperative Sense. So *Irenaeus* says, the Word
" was unmade, and eternal, and that God commanded
" him to make all Things; and elsewhere⁴, that Man
" was

¹ Petav. de Trin. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 7. Sandius, Enucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 91. ² p. 334. ³ Lib. 2. c. 7. n. 7. ⁴ p. 47. Not accurately cited, but in Sense and Substance. In this place Christ is plainly distinguished

“ was created, the Father willing and commanding, the
 “ Son executing and effecting it. ¹ *Basil* calls the Father,
 “ the Giver of Orders, the Son the Executor of them.
 “ ² So *Cyri*, *Athanasius* ³ also, thus interprets these very
 “ Words of the *Psalmist*. So *Marius* ⁴ *Victor*: Which
 “ when the Almighty Son replenishd with the Father’s Mind
 “ made at God’s command. The Author of a Piece amongst
 “ *Augustine*’s ⁵ Works, says the Son administred to the
 “ Father in making every Thing, because all Things were
 “ made by him. Thus *Prosper* upon the Words, *He com-*
 “ *manded, and they were created.* What God speaks, he
 “ speaks to the Word, and the Word by whom all Things
 “ are made, executes his Command.” So you have *Peta-*
vinus’s Answer to *Petavins*. But *Irenaeus* had said that God
 himself made all Things freely, and in Proof of it cited
 these Words: *Our God is in Heaven above, and in Earth,*
he hath done whatsoever he pleased. Upon this the Author
 of the *Irenicum* thus argues: “ As if he should say, that
 “ the Word made all Things at the command of the Father;
 “ but God whatsoever he would, freely. Which Opposi-
 “ tion hints, that the Father is greater than the Son.” If the
 Heretic had attentively read *Irenaeus*, he would have for-
 bore such an insipid Cavil. For when *Irenaeus* says that
 God the Father freely made all Things by his Son, the
 Word, he opposes the *Gnostics*, who contend that the
 World was made by inferior Powers, and different from
 the Divine Judgment and Will. The good Bishop proves
 these two Things against them in very many places. (1.)
 That this World was not made by inferior Powers, that
 were not of the Nature and Essence of God; but by the
 supreme God *with his own Off-spring, and his own Hands,*
 (as *Irenaeus* speaks,) i. e. by the Son and Holy Spirit.
 (2.) That the World was made, not by certain Powers

distinguishd from Man, and by collating this with that other [Non as
 infectus, homo, &c.] *arises a strong Argument for our Lord’s Di-*
vinity.

¹ De Sp. Sanct. c. 16. ² Cyrill. lib. 29. Thesauri. ³ De decretis
 Synodi Nicenae, & Orat. contra Gentes. ⁴ Lib 1. de rerum Crea-
 tione. ⁵ De Incarnat. Tom. 4. op. Augustini.

separate

separate from the Will of God, (as *Irenaeus* speaks,) that is Powers that acted otherwise than God would have them; but that it was produced by God himself, by the Son, and Spirit, *advisedly*, and *freely*. I must repeat, that whosoever does not take this to be the Mind and Meaning of the good Father, must either never have seen him, or read him very negligently.

7. As for the other place which *Petavius* carps at upon this very Account, I answer, that *Irenaeus* does not there mean a Minister, who is out of, or foreign to the Father (as the *Arians* do) but one that is Consubstantial and Con-natural; or rather, that he only means that God the Father made the Work of the Creation by the Son and Holy Spirit, which Works the Heretics attributed to ministering Angels and inferior Powers. See the very Words of *Irenaeus*. "The Son who is the Word of God laid out these Things from the beginning, the Father not standing in need of Angels for the Creation of the World, and the making Man, for whom the World was created, nor again wanting a ministerial Power for making those Things that are made, and the disposing the Affairs of the World, after the Formation of Man, but having a sufficient and ineffable one. For his own Off-spring and Impress ministers to him in all Things, *i. e.* the Son and Holy Spirit, the Word and Wisdom, to whom Angels are subject and minister." As if he should have said: The Father of all had no need of Ministers to make the Creature, not Angels, or other inferior Powers distinct from his Nature and Essence (as you Heretics rashly and impiously imagine). Abundantly sufficient for this and every Thing else is his own Off-spring, who is from him, and in him, the Son and Holy Spirit, Beings so far from a servile Condition, that every Creature, even the Angels themselves, are subject to them, serve and obey them. Strange *Arianism* indeed! However, for the clearer Explication of this Matter, take a few more Citations of this Father. "All Things were made by him, and with-

* P. 334.

* P. 114.

“ out him was nothing made. Here is no Exception, but
 “ the Father made all Things by him, whether visible or
 “ invisible, sensible or intellectual, Temporal for a certain
 “ purpose, or Eternal : He made all these Things, not by
 “ Angels, or Powers different from his Mind, for the
 “ God of all Things wants nothing, but by his Word and
 “ Spirit, making, disposing, governing all Things, and
 “ giving Being to them.” The same Doctrine he delivers
 in another place : ¹ “ There is only one God the Creator,
 “ who is above all Principality, and Power, and Domini-
 “ on, and Dignity. He is the Father, the God, the
 “ Creator, the Builder, the Maker, that made these Things
 “ by himself, *i. e.* who made the Heaven, the Earth, the
 “ Seas, and all that in them is by his Son and Holy Spi-
 “ rit.” Again, in a place parallel to this he says : ² “ The
 “ Angels then did not make, did not form us ; they could
 “ not make, the Image of God, nor any but the Word
 “ of God, no Power distinct from the Father. Nor did
 “ the Father stand in need of them to make what he had
 “ before designed, as if he had not Hands of his own.
 “ He has always with him the Word and Wisdom, the
 “ Son and Spirit, by whom, and in whom he freely made
 “ all Things, and to whom he speaks, saying, *Let us make*
 “ *Man after our Image and Similitude* ; he taking from
 “ himself the Substance of the Creatures, the Copy of the
 “ Things made, and the Figure of the Ornaments of the
 “ World.” In these places he asserts that Identity of
 Essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (which he
 calls *Wisdom*, as also *Theophilus Antiochenus*, &c. doth) as
 is consistent with a Distinction of *Persons* * ; so as to say
 that the Father creating all Things by the Son and Spirit,
 created them by himself. From all this it is manifest St.

¹ p. 214. ² p. 369. * Dr. Whitby is very unfortunate in his
 Note upon this place. He says, “ Irenæus has nothing concerning the
 “ Distinction of Persons, (the mention of this is sufficient). And that
 “ the word *Persona* is only once found in his Works.” But if the
 same learned Man pleases only to consult, p. 113. of his own Book, he
 will find a Passage cited from Irenæus, in which there is not only the
 word *Persona* a second time, but a Distinction of Persons implied.

Irenæus was far from *Arianism*, and was altogether of the same Opinion with the *Nicene* Fathers.

8. What the Author of the *Irenicum*, *Sandius*, and others say of this Father, namely, that he held that the Son of God, as God, knew not the Day and Hour of the last Judgment, is a senseless Cavil. For thus he writes: "If any one ask why, the Father communicating himself to the Son in all Things, our Lord says, that *He alone knows the Hour and the Day*, he can't find a more fit, a more decent, or less dangerous Reason at present than this, that, since our Lord is the only veracious Teacher, we may learn by him that the Father is above all. For *the Father*, saith he, *is greater than I*; and the Father is therefore preferred for his Knowledge, by our Lord, to shew us, that as we are in the Figure of this World, we should leave perfect Knowledge, and such Questions as these to God, lest perhaps seeking to find out the Perfection of the Father, we run the great hazard of being brought to enquire, whether there be not one God above another." I confess, the Words at first sight seem to attribute Ignorance to the Son of God, as he is most properly God; but if these Sophists had been at leisure to have read the whole Chapter, they would have found the meaning of the Father to be quite otherwise. For thus he has wrote concerning our Lord Christ a little before these words: * "Though the Spirit of our Saviour, which is in him, searches all Things, even the Heights of God, yet with respect to us, there are Divisions of Graces, of Ministers, and of Operations; and as we upon Earth, as *St. Paul* saith, *Know in part, and Prophecy in part*; so we should leave the Knowledge of all Questions to him, who gives us Grace in part." By the Spirit of our Saviour, must be understood his Di-

* p. 207. * Dr. Whitby says the Spirit here means, not the Divine Nature of Christ, but the Spirit of God, which was in him, and affirms that [searches all Things] is to be understood in a popular, not a strict Sense; not all universally, but all that is needful, concealing from his Reader what follows, namely, the Opposition made between our Knowledge, which is partial, and our Lord's, which is perfect.

vine Nature. For so he, as well as others by me noted before, call the Godhead. “ ‘ If he was not a Man, but “ only appeared to be so, then neither was the Spirit of “ God, which he was, real, firm, and stable. ” And a little after : “ In a word, the Word of the Father, and “ the Spirit of God, united to the antient Substance of the “ Formation of *Adam*, made a living and perfect Man. ” It is therefore plain that *Irenaus* attributed Ignorance to the Man Christ, but a perfect Omniscience to the Spirit, or his Divinity. Nor will it seem absurd to any sober Man, that the Divine Wisdom impressed its Effects upon the Humane Mind of Christ, as the times called for it, that Christ, as Man, *increased in Wisdom*, and consequently in the time of his Mission, in which he had no need of that Knowledge, might be ignorant of the Day of Judgment, though the *Papists* greatly inveigh against the Reformed for this Opinion, and amongst them *Feuardemius* especially², a bitter foul-mouth’d Person, who says, that we, the latter *Gnostics* don’t differ at all from the Antient, and calls us a *Generation of Vipers*. But to return to *Irenaus*, it is certain that Holy Doctor does every where else so speak of the Son of God, as of a Son, who perfectly knew both the Nature and Will of his Father. I add, that the same *Irenaus* does every where accuse the *Gnostics* of Impiety, for making the Wisdom and Only-begotten of the Father subject to Ignorance. His Words concerning the Wisdom are more especially clear : “ How³ is it not vain that they “ say his Wisdom is in Ignorance, Inferiority and Passi- “ on ? These Things are different from, nay, contrary to “ Wisdom, and not Properties of it. For where there is “ an Ignorance, or Neglect of that which is good, there “ Wisdom is not. Let them not call the *Æon* that suf- “ fered, Wisdom, but either omit his Name, or his Pas- “ sion. ” Is there any one can believe *Irenaus* would object to the Heretics the making their fictitious Wisdom liable to Ignorance, when he imputed the same Imperfection to the real Wisdom, the Son of God ? Besides, we

¹ Lib. 5. c. 1.² In locum.³ p. 180.

have heard *Irenæus* say, that the immense Father is measured in the Son, that the Son contains and comprehends the Father. Is it credible the Person who wrote this, should say the Son is ignorant of any Part of the Father's Will? Lastly, He rejects the Words of the same *Irenæus* aforecited, who has so much as a doubt in the Case before us. For there making a Comparison between the Son of God and Man, he opposes the Omniscience, which the *Valentinians* impiously arrogated to themselves, with this Argument: *That no Man, no Creature was equal to, or like his Maker, or did always co-exist with God, as his own Son did.* It is certain therefore that *Irenæus* granted the most absolute Omniscience to the proper Son of God, as being equal to him, and always existing with him.

9. But *Irenæus* is accus'd by *Sandius* and his Friends; for never mentioning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. I have therefore thought it proper to vindicate him by the bye; I will then briefly shew. (1.) That *Irenæus* believed the Holy Spirit to be a Person distinct from the Father and the Son, and not the mere Power of the Father without any distinct Subsistence. (2.) That he believed the Holy Spirit to be a Divine Person, of the same Nature and Essence with the Father. The former of these two Points is sufficiently proved (to omit many other) from these Places: *'Receiving † Testimony from all that he is truly Man, and truly God, from the Father, the Holy Spirit, Angels, &c.* Where it is clear the Father is one Witness, the Holy Ghost another, and both of them different from the Son, to whom they give Testimony. He alludes to the Baptism of Christ, where all the three Persons of the Holy Trinity shew'd themselves distinctly, the Father in a Voice from Heaven, the Son in humane Flesh, and the Holy Ghost in the Shape of a Dove de-

^{*} P 331. † Dr. Whitby gives us the former Part of this Citation in his own Words, though in a different Character; and though our Blessed Lord is affirmed by *Irenæus* to be vere Deus, truly God, he leaves out the Word true, and proceeds. Observations of this Kind are every where to be met with, if a Person is inclined to look after them; but as the Credit of such a Citer will never affect a Cause, it would be lost Labour to enlarge this Part of the Work.

scending upon him. A little after: *There is one God the Father, one Son, and one Holy Spirit.* These necessarily make three Persons, and it is also plain *Irenæus* calls the Holy Spirit *one*, in the same Sense, in which he calls the Son *one*; but all confess he took the Son to be one distinct Person. The clearest Place is part of one before cited at large. "For there is always present with him" [*the Father*] the Word and Wisdom, the Son and Spirit, by whom, and in whom, he made all Things freely, to whom also he speaks, saying, *Let us make Man after our own Image and Similitude.*" Observe: The Son and Spirit were from all Eternity with the Father, neither of them was the Father, and if the Father in those Words, *Let us make Man, &c.* not only spoke to the Son, but also to the Holy Spirit, then the Holy Spirit as well as the Son, is a distinct Person from the Father. Hence have we a plain Argument of his Divinity also. For he is said to be with the Father and Son, from Eternity: But nothing, at least according to *Irenæus* is eternal, except God. Again, he is joined to the Father and Son in the Work of Creation: But the Work of Creation, according to *Irenæus* and all sober Men, is proper only to God. For he says, in a Place before cited, that *he who makes and creates others, is so distinguish'd from the Things made and created, as that he is uncreate, eternal, and self-sufficient; but they have a beginning of Existence, are dissoluble, dependent upon their Creator, servile and subject.* Upon which Account he concludes in the same place, that *the Son, as well as the Father, is uncreate, eternal, and Lord of all, because God the Father by his Word, or Son created all Things.* But the Divinity of the Holy Ghost is elsewhere also clearly declared by *Irenæus*. So in a Place aforecited, the Son and Holy Spirit are therefore said to be *the Offspring and Impress of God the Father*, to distinguish them from ministering Angels created by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and for that Cause said to be subject to the Son and Spirit, their Creator as well as the Fa-

ther. ¹ That Place is unexceptionable in which the Distinction is made between the Holy Spirit, and that Spirit with which *Adam* was animated, in as much as the Holy Spirit was holy, uncreate, Creator, and God of all, but that a created Spirit. The Place is well worthy a Recital at large: "The Spirit, or Breath of Life, which made Man an Animal, is one Thing, the Spirit that enlivens him, and makes him spiritual is another. And therefore says *Isaiah*; Thus says the Lord that made the Heaven, and fashioned it, that strengthened the Earth, and what is in it, who gave Breath to the Inhabitants thereof, and Spirit to those that tread upon it. Breath, says he, to all in general that are upon it, but Spirit properly to those who subdue their Earthly Concupiscence. For this Reason *Isaiah* distinguishing those Things which are foretold, says, *The Spirit shall go out from me, and I have made every Thing that breaths*, accounting that Spirit properly, which is in God, and which in the last Times by the Adoption of Sons he poured upon Mankind, but shewing the Breath in general, in the Creation. For that which was made is different from that which made it. The Breath is temporal, the Spirit eternal." ² Nor do we here regard the odd Interpretation of these two Texts, for we don't consult *Irenæus*, as the best Interpreter of Scripture; but as a Witness of Apostolical Tradition, and worthy to be believed in a primary Article of Christian Faith. Nor do we now enquire how strongly he proves the Catholic Doctrine (though he is generally liked in this Part also) but what he esteems so. Here then, *Irenæus* calls the Holy Spirit God and Creator. For (as *Petavius* has well observed) for the Spirit in *Deo deputari*, or in Greek ἐν Θεῷ or εἰς Θεὸν λογίζεσθαι, is the same as to be thought, accounted, or esteemed God. So when he immediately adds, ³ shewing the Breath in general in the

¹ p. 450. ² Tertullian to the same Purpose, Lib. 2. adv. Marcion c. 4. ³ We have the Greek in Damascene thus: Ranging the Spirit as properly God, but the Breath with the Creature in general, and pronouncing that it is made. Which last Words confirm the learned Bull's Explication.

Creation, he says, it is the same as a Creature. Then he asserts plainly that which is made, i. e. the Breath is different from him that made it, that this is eternal, that temporal. The Holy Spirit then, according to *Irenæus*, is not a Creature, something made, but God proceeding from God, the Creator, and Eternal.

Dr. GRABE's Annotations.

BESIDES these Passages cited by the right reverend Author, there are others in which he is called God by *Irenæus* (p. 45.) and the object of Worship. (p. 213.) is said to have two Natures, a Divine and Humane united, and that this was necessary (p. 247, and 248). See more Passages relating to his Deity. (p. 257. p. 363. 421. p. 426. 425. 249. 302. p. 241) and proving the same from his giving Remission of Sins, having Divine Perfections attributed to him, and from the Word [*God*] when apply'd to him, being used in a strict and proper Sense.

Of MELITO.

TO *Irenæus*, I add, *Melito*, an Author we only know from ¹ *Eusebius*, and *Jerome*. *Eusebius* has given us a remarkable Fragment of an anonymous Writer against the Heresy of *Artemon*, mentioning *Melito* thus: *And who is ignorant of the Books of Irenæus, Melito, &c. which preach Christ, God and Man?* There is scarce any Thing of *Melito's* left besides his Titles, one of which *μετ' ἐνσωματῶς Θεοῦ* has led some Divines into a mistake, they having interpreted these Words, [*of the incorporeal God*] a Sense they can't bear, according to the *Greek*, and besides, a Sense the Author never intended for them, as *Cotelerius* has learnedly proved.

2. Omitting this, and though *Melito's* Works are lost, we have some Fragments which speak plainly to the Point

¹ E. H. p. 159. Book 5. Ch. 28. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles.

before us. ¹ *Anastasius* has preserved two in his *Hodegus*. There the *Theodosians* and *Gaianites* cite these Words from *Melito's* Sermon upon the Passion of Christ. *God suffered by the Hands of the Israelites*. But *Anastasius* ² himself cites these excellent Words out of his third Sermon, upon the Incarnation, where he disputes against the Heresy of *Marcian*, who deny'd the Humanity of Christ. "So
 " that there is no Necessity to prove the real and true
 " Humane Nature of Christ's Soul and Body, from his
 " Actions after his Baptism. For what was done after
 " his Baptism, especially his Miracles, did manifest and
 " confirm to the World, the Deity of Christ veiled in
 " the Flesh. The same Person being perfect God, and
 " perfect Man, confirmed to us both these Natures; his
 " Godhead by the Miracles he wrought in the three Years
 " after his Baptism, and his Manhood in the thirty Years
 " before it, in which the Imperfection of the Flesh concealed the Tokens of his Godhead, although he was
 " true God eternally." These Words might occasion what I before cited of an anonymous Writer, from *Eusebius*. In the ³ *Paschal Chronicle* we have this Citation from *Melito's Apologetic*. "We are not the Worshipers
 " of Stones void of Sense, but of the only God, who is
 " before all, and over all, and of his Christ who is truly
 " God before all Ages." I can't but desire the Reader to observe how frivolously the Author of a Piece, entitled [*The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Trinity, against Dr. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed*] accounts *Melito* amongst those who oppose the Trinity, only from the Title of a Book [*concerning the Creation and Generation of Christ*] mentioned by *Eusebius*. But ⁴ *Valesius* has sufficiently spoke to this Point.

¹ *Anastasioi Hodegus*, c. 12. p. 217.

² C. 13. p. 258. and 260.

³ *Ad. ann. Christi*. 164, and 165.

⁴ p. 73. of the Notes upon *Eusebius*.



C H A P. VI.

*Clemens Alexandrinus's Testimony concerning
the true Divinity of the Son, and the Consub-
stantiality of the Holy Trinity.*

I proceed now to St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, contemporary of *Irenaeus*, and genuine Disciple of the famous *Pantanus* (who as ¹ *Photius* tells us from others, had those Masters who had seen the Apostles, and himself had heard some of them). *Petavius* ² himself confesses, that *Clement* accommodated his Doctrine concerning the Word and Son of God to the Opinion of *Plato*, without any Suspicion of Error, and was right and catholic in his Writings of the Son of God. Yet in the same Breath (that none of the Fathers may pass through his Hands without a Censure) he blames him for some Things *Platonic* and *Arian*; of which we shall speak in their proper Place. But I can't enough admire *Huetius*, a learned Man (if we may conjecture from his Writings) and a Person of great Candor, in his *Origeniana* should thus answer *Bellarmino*, who defends *Origen*, from the Orthodoxy of his Master *Clement*, and his Scholars *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *Gregory Thaumaturgus*: "Nothing ³ can be said more disagreeable to a Defence of *Origen* than this. For none of the three were sound in the Doctrine of the Trinity. *Clement* so distinguishes the Substance of the Father from the Son, that he makes it inferior. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* says ⁴, the Son is made by the Father, and unlike him, and speaks unbecomingly of the Holy Spirit, according to *Basil*, by whom also *Gregory Thaumaturgus* stands corrected for plainly calling the Son a Crea-

¹ Cod. 118. p. 298.

² Petav. de Trin. Lib. 1 c. 4. n. 1.

³ Huetii. Origen. Lib. 2. c. 2. Quest. 2. n. 10.

⁴ Ep. 41.

"ture." Of this noble Pair of *Origen's* Disciples, and of *Origen* himself I shall speak hereafter ; of *Clement Origen's* Master I now treat. I've turn'd over all the genuine extant Works of *Clement* with this very view, to know his Opinion in the Point before us ; and after all I must say, that none of the Catholic Doctors before or after the *Nicene* Council have more clearly, expressly, and significantly taught the true Divinity of the Son, than *Clement*. You have it every where in him. Whence *Ruffinus* ² thus writ concerning him : " *Clement* of *Alexandria*, a Presbyter and Master of that Church, in almost all his Books, makes the Glory and Eternity of the Trinity one and the same." We will select some Passages out of the great Plenty he affords us.

2. Not far from the beginning of the *Protrepticon*, or Admonition to the *Gentiles*, he cites that noble Passage of *St. Paul* ; ² *The Grace of God which bringeth Salvation hath appeared to all Men, teaching us, that denying Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and Godly in this present World, expecting the blessed Hope and Appearance of the Glory of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ ;* he understands, by the great God, *Jesus Christ*, and adds these very elegant Words : ³ *This is the new Song, the Appearance, which now shineth forth in us, though the Word existed in the beginning, and existed before. The Saviour who existed before, has appeared of late. He has appeared who existed in the existent Being, the Word, which was with God, has appeared [our] Teacher, by whom all Things were made : The Word, which after he had formed us gave us Life, in the beginning, has taught us to live well, having appeared, as our Teacher, that as God he might bestow upon us eternal Life hereafter.* Here he acknowledges *Jesus Christ* our Saviour *Eternal*, viz. existing in the beginning, and before, *Consubstantial* with the Father, viz. being in the existent Being, subsisting in the Essence of the Father, and lastly *GOD*, as giving both this and the other Life. In the

¹ De adulteratione Lib. *Origen*.

² *Titus*, ch. ii. 11, 12, 13.

³ *Clem. Alex. Ed. Leyden 1616. p. 5.*

same Book, he exhorts the *Gentiles* to believe in the Son, thus: ¹ *Believe, O Man, in Man and God; believe, O Man, in him that suffered, and is adored, the living God; believe, O ye Servants, in him who was dead; believe, all Men, in him who alone is the God of all Men.* *Hervetus* ² according to Custom has miserably rendered this place. Where *Clement* not only pronounces Christ to be Man, but God also, the living God, who is adored (a manifest Periphrasis of God) and the only God of all Men.

3. But what can be more magnificent than those Words, which we read in the same Book? ³ *There our Saviour is called, The Divine Word, most manifestly true God, who was made equal to the Lord of all Things: For he was his Son, and the Word was in God.* He uses such emphatical Words, that he seems to have endeavoured with all his Power, to express fully the supreme Divinity of our Saviour. He calls Christ the Divine Word, the true God, the most manifest true God, equal to God the Father, and that for this Reason, because he is the Son of God, genuinely begotten of him, and because he is the Word subsisting in the very God. Again, after he had said that the Greatness of the Son of God is related by *Isaiah* in these Words; [*Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace*]: He quickly adds, ⁴ *O great God! O perfect Son! The Son in the Father, and Father in the Son.* Again, he calls the Son the perfect Word, ⁵ *begotten of the perfect Father*, i. e. Son in every Degree of Perfection, answering to the Father, of whom he was begotten. The whole place is worth the Reader's Notice. Afterwards he gives a full and perfect Confession of the Holy Trinity in these Words: ⁶ *There is one Father of all Things, one Word of all Things, and one Holy Spirit, who is every where.* Observe, he gives every Person of the Holy Trinity a Divine Power which pervades all Things; so that the first is the Father of all Things, the second the Word of all, and the third is every where, and in all Things. Again, he speaks

¹ p. 49.² Qui solus est Deus ex omnibus hominibus.³ p. 51.⁴ p. 60.⁵ p. 69.⁶ p. 76.

thus : ¹ *But one Padagogue is Jesus the Holy God, the Word which instructs all Mankind ; the God who loves Man is our Padagogue.*

4. Again, he is wholly engaged in proving that all (the Absolute) Attributes of God the Father are common to him with the Son, because of the common Divine Nature of both, and whatsoever is said of the Father may be said of the Son. The whole Chapter very well deserves reading, though it be sufficient for me to point out a few places. He thus proves that Christ hates no Man, would have all to be saved. *If the Word hated ² any Thing, he would not have it exist ; but there is nothing, to which God does not give Existence ; therefore nothing is hated by God, nor by his Word, for both are one, namely, God.* After he has discoursed of the primary Divine Attributes, Goodness and Justice, largely from the Scripture, and shewn that they are equally agreeable to the Father, and the Son, he concludes thus : ³ *So that this is manifestly true, that the God of all Things is only one, is Good, Just, the Creator, the Son in the Father, to whom be Glory for ever and ever, Amen.* Here a Reader must be stupid, who needs to be told, that he must understand, the Son in, and with the Father, is God of all Things, who is only Good, Just, and the Creator, to whom therefore should be ascribed eternal Glory. Again, he hath these very magnificent Words of the Son : ⁴ *He who has the Word, the Almighty God, is in nothing indigent, obtains every Thing he wants ; for the Word is a never-failing Possession, the Author of all Plenty.* Lastly, He thus prays to the Son of God with the Father : ⁵ *Be propitious to thy Scholars, O Master, O Father, Charioteer of Israel, Son and Father, both one, Lord.* And a little after he pours forth Praises to the most Holy Trinity in this Form : *Let us give Thanks to the only Father, and Son, Son and Father, to the Son the Padagogue and Teacher, with the Holy Spirit. All to one, by whom are all ; by whom all are one, by whom they are always ; whose Members all are, whose is the Glory, and the Angels or Ages. All Things be to the*

¹ p. 81. ² p. 84. ³ p. 89. ⁴ p. 173. ⁵ p. 195.

Gracious, the Good, the Wise, and the Just, to whom be Glory now and for ever, Amen. He is Blind at Mid-day, that does not clearly see, in this Doxology, a full and perfect Confession of the consubstantial Trinity, of the one God subsisting in the three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

5. But that I may not seem wholly to neglect the *Stromata*, I will produce a place or two from them. In the 4th Book, St. Clement thus speaks of Christ: So ¹ the Lord draws near to the Just, and knows our Thoughts and Reasonings. I mean the Lord Jesus, by the Almighty * Will, the searcher or beholder of our Hearts. The Words need no Comment. Again, he illustrates the Omnipresence, and universal Providence of the Word, or Son of God by this very apposite and elegant Similitude: ² As the Sun not only enlightens the Heaven and the whole World, shining upon the Earth and the Seas, but also throws his Ray through the Windows, and small Holes into the most secret Parts of the House; so the Word, every where diffused, beholds the most minute Actions of Life. I might produce many more places, if it would be of any use to those who are convinced by the afore-cited, and to those who are not, none will.

6. Let us see now, what *Petavius* and the other rigid Censors of the Holy Fathers have against these clear and express Passages, to prove St. Clement any way inclined to the *Arians*. ³ *Petavius* objects to him a place of the 7th *Stromata*, where he thus writes concerning the Son of God: ⁴ The most perfect, the most Holy, the greatest in Authority,

* p. 377. * Dr. Whitby, Dr. Clark, &c. are fond of a Criticism upon our Author's Version (by his Almighty Will) and affirm that the Word [his] is not in the Original. It is very true: But this Elliptic Way of Writing, or this Liberty of translating is frequent, and whoever will be at the pains, will find it more than once in the learned Doctor's Disquisitions. Suppose our Author to have wrote (by the Almighty Will) does this make any Thing for the Arian Cause? No. For Clement affirms the Son to be παντοκρατωρ, as well as the Father, Almighty. See p. 173. where he calls him τὸν παντοκρατορα διὸν λόγον. This Criticism therefore is a mere begging the Question, unless the Son, tho' παντοκρατωρ, can't have θέλημα παντοκρατορικόν. ² p. 511.

³ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. n. 1. p. 702. ⁴ p. 504.

in Conduct, in Kingly Power, the most beneficent Nature of the Son, which is most nearly ally'd to the Almighty alone. So *ὑποσχεσθαι* must be rendered, I think. In that Sense the Philosophers used *ὑποσχεσθαι*, namely, for those Things which were nearest, and had an immediate Connection with their Cause. *Petavius* thus observes upon the place: He says, "The Nature of the Son is next to [*citimam*] the Almighty God, which favours of *Platonism* and *Arianism*. But "the Nature of the Son is not the nearest to, but the "same with the Father." This place I believe *Huetius* had his Eye upon, when he said that *Clement* makes the Substance of the Son inferior to that of the Father. But the Answer is easy; for *Clement* has not respect to the Son in his Divine Nature absolutely, but relatively, or personally (as they say) as it constitutes the Subsistence of the Son; and the word *οὐσις*,¹ as well as *ἔσθια* is used by the Antients for *Person*. So that nothing else is here intended by *Clement*, than that the Son is most nearly ally'd to the Father, most strictly joined to him. And where is the harm of this? *Gregory Nyssen*² is no where blamed for it, where he says, That the Son is that, which is immediately, conjunctly from the first, i. e. the Father. If *Clement* is here understood to say that the first place is given to the Father, and the second to the Son, what is there new in this also? That the Father has a certain Eminence, as he is the Fountain of the Deity, the Principle of the Son, is the consentient Testimony of Scripture, of the *Ante-Nicene*, the *Nicene*, and the *Post-Nicene* Fathers (as I shall shew in its proper place) but that *Clement* never intended to make the Substance of the Son inferior to that of the Father is certain. Those so many places by us afore-cited are against this Comment, in which he (if any other Antient) most plainly acknowledges the Consubstantiality and true Divinity of the Son; yea, the Context of the place alledged is opposite to it. For in the Words immediately following, *Clement* speaks very honourably (as *Petavius* him-

¹ See ch. ix. n. 11. of this Section.
Tom. 2. p. 459.

² In Epist. ad Ablabium,

self observes) of the Son of God, attributing to him the chief Divine Perfections, namely, Indivisibility, Immutability, Eternity, Omniscience, and Omnipresence. Above all it is to be noted, that *Clement calls the Son, the whole Mind, wholly the Light of the Father*¹; Words that perspicuously declare the common Nature of the Father and the Son.

7. Besides these *Petavius* objects some other Words in the same Book a little after : ² *Nor could the Lord of all be at any time hindered by another, especially as ministring to the Will of the Gracious and Almighty Father.* But what a Dust does the learned Man raise here ! Read, whoever thou art that lovest Truth, the Context of this place, and thou'lt wonder, what *Petavius* was thinking of. There *Clement* makes it his Business to shew, that Christ is the common Saviour, and as much as he can, as far as is consistent with Free-will, promotes the Salvation of all Men. He says, that as Christ is Lord of all, no Creature can hinder him in procuring Man's Salvation ; and that the Father (who is also Lord of all with the Son) will not hinder him, because, in this Work, the Son fulfils the Will of the Father. *Clement* in another place says this same Thing (and *Petavius* approves it) where he calls the ³ *Son the true Fellow-worker of the Benevolence of God towards Man.* Lastly, *Petavius* objects these Words of *Clement* : ⁴ *God can't be shewn to any one, therefore can't be known : But the Son is Wisdom, Knowledge, Truth, and every Thing of this kind, and therefore capable of Demonstration and Exposition.* Now it is manifest that *Clement* intended nothing more in these Words, than that God, the Father, neither is, nor can be known immediately, and of himself ; but that he is revealed by the Son, who, being the Word of God, and made Flesh, hath declared himself to them according to their Capacities. If this be *Arianism*, St. *John*, I'm afraid, will come in for a share of it ; no Man, says he, ⁵ *Hath seen God at any time : The Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father, hath declared him.* Moreover, in the same place,

¹ p. 505. ² Ibidem. ³ p. 85. ⁴ p. 391. ⁵ Ch. i. 18.

and in the Words immediately following, *Clement* has cut down all the *Arian* Blasphemy at one blow, whilst he teaches that the Son is an infinite Circle, containing in himself only all the Virtues and Powers of the Godhead, Immenſe and Eternal, who has neither beginning, nor end of Exiſtence. We will give you the place at large in the third Section. Thus you ſee how frivolous an Objector *Petavius* is.

8. Others object to *Clement*, that he ſomewhere calls the Son of God ¹ *the firſt created Wiſdom*. But they alſo are miſtaken. For it is plain the word *κτιστός* in that place of *St. Clement* ſignifies the ſame as *γεννῆτος*. So *create* is uſed for *gignere*; *Sulmone creatos*, i. e. *progenitos*. Indeed from what I have alledged before it is manifeſt, *Clement* never took the Son of God for a Creature. I will ſubjoin the Words of the excellent *H. Valeſius*. ² “Without doubt the antient Divines, ſays he, and eſpecially the “*Ante-Nicene*, underſtood by the word *κτίσις*, not only “*Creation out of nothing*, but all *Production in general*, as “well that which is from Eternity, as that which was “in time.” Altogether after the ſame manner we muſt expound a place which *Clement* cites from the Apocryphal Books of *Peter*. *There is truly one God, who made the beginning of all Things*, ³ *ſignifying his firſt begotten Son*. * For the Greeks (and we imitate them) uſe *ποιεῖν τέκνα*, *facere Liberos* for *generare*. And thus the Author explains this Word immediately adding, *Signifying his firſt begotten Son*.

9. *Sandius* ⁴ laſtly upbraids *Clement* with a Book formerly extant, but now loſt, I mean his *Hypotypoſes*, in which *Photius* ⁵ witneſſeth that there were many Seeds of *Arianism*, eſpecially his placing the Son in the order of Crea-

¹ p. 431. ² Notes upon Euseb. p. 7. ³ p. 464. * Dr. Whitby, p. 136. cites Clement, p. 464. as ſaying [therefore in the ſame Senſe that he made the Heavens and the Earth, he made this Principle, i. e. the Son] but Clement hath no ſuch Words, and if, as theſe are the Doctor's own Words, he is of this Opinion, it would have lookt better to have owned it, than to pretend Clement's Authority for it.
⁴ De Script. Eccl. p. 24. & Enucleat. Hiſt. lib. 1. p. 94. ⁵ Cod. 109. p. 286.

tures. But there is nothing in this, and it is unbecoming a Man, who pretends to give the Marrow of Church History. For the Learned (amongst whom *Petavius*) own that those Blasphemies are not the genuine Works of *Clement*, but made for him by some Impostor. And this their Judgment is abundantly confirmed from *Photius* himself. For *Photius* ¹ in the same place witnesseth that the *Hypotyposes* taught the Eternity of Matter, the bringing in Ideas by certain Decrees, the Transmigration of Souls, the Pre-Adamitical Worlds; that *Eve* came from *Adam*, not as the Scripture relates, but in a certain obscene manner; that Angels lay with Women, and had Children by them; that the Father had two Words, that the less of them appeared to Mortals, that even he did not appear; Things all of them such, as, I need not say, are widely different from *Clement's* Doctrine in his genuine Writings. Besides, the same * *Photius* (no Friend to *Clement*, because *Origen's* Master) plainly shews he never thought those the true Works of *Clement*, when he adds a thousand other Blasphemies and Trifles, we have from him, whether it be he himself (*Clement*) or some Body else personating him. Lastly, This very *Photius* ² speaking of the three Books of the *Paedagogus*, and the *Protrepicon*, which all Men own to be the genuine Works of St. *Clement*, observes that they are very unlike the *Hypotyposes* both in Phrase and Matter. These are his Words: " These Pieces are in nothing like " the *Hypotyposes*. They are clear of vain and blasphemous

¹ Cod. 109. p. 286.

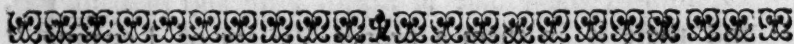
* Dr. Whitby just suggests to his Reader, that *Photius* seems only to doubt whether *Clement* was the Author of these Blasphemies, and that he had not express'd himself as he did, but that *Pamphilus* or *Ruffinus* had led him to it by saying the same thing. But *Photius* observing upon the undoubted Writings of *Clement*, says, The *Hypotyposes* are nothing like them. The Style, the Matter, &c. is quite different. Why should the Doctor not only conceal this, but affirm there is no such thing? What he alledges from the beginning of the seventh Strom. and from *Cassidore*, are poor Conjectures indeed. The *Hypotyposes* may be meant in both, but as it would be impossible to prove it in the latter, so I believe it would be very difficult in the former. Besides, *Cassidore* speaks of the New Testament, *Clement* of the Prophets; the one of Commentaries, the other of an intended Treatise. p. 287.

“ Opinions ; the Phrase is florid, elate and pleasant too,
 “ and there is in them a proper Variety of Learning.”
 Indeed I don’t at all doubt but that *Ruffinus* had an Eye
 especially to these *Hypotyposes* (perhaps also to the eighth
 Book of the *Stromata*, which is depraved, as it appeared
 in certain Copies in his time ; *Photius* also mentions it,) and
 had compared them with his genuine Works, in all
 which he constantly defends the Catholic Doctrine of the
 Trinity, when he thus expressed himself concerning *Cle-*
ment : “ *Clement*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and Master
 “ of that Church, in almost all his Books makes the Glo-
 “ ry and Eternity of the Trinity one and the same ; but
 “ sometimes we find some Chapters in his Books, in which
 “ he calls the Son of God a Creature. Is it credible that
 “ so great a Man, in all Things so Catholic, and Learned,
 “ should either contradict himself, or leave in Writing
 “ such Things concerning God, as it is impious to hear,
 “ much more to believe ?

Dr. GRABE’s Annotations.

TO these Passages from *Clement*, we may add others
 omitted by the Right Reverend Author for Brevi-
 ty’s sake. In the *Protrepticon*, p. 5, & 8. in the *Pedagogus*,
 p. 80, 161, 684. *Strom.* p. 733. he is called *God*, *God*
with the Father, &c. and lest any should object that he is
 no where called *God* with a distinguishing Article, consult
 the following Pages, *Pedagog.* 29, 110, 182, 703. in
 which last there is not only the Article prefixed, but the
 Attribute of Omniscience given. Collate with it p. 702
 & 704. concerning the Omniscience, by which he knows
 the greatest Secrets of the Heart, and the Omnipotence also. †

* *Ruffinus de adulterat. Lib. Origenis.* † *The Author of the Answer*
to the Queries, following his great Master Dr. Clark, has favoured us
with the same Citations, concerning the Distinction betwixt Gods, with
and without an Article ; The sum of which is, when fairly argued upon
and allowed, no more than what all the despised Orthodox allow, namely,
a Subordination. But the Observations both of the Antients and Moderns
admitted in our Author’s Sense fail in this Point. For Clement of Alexan.
Strom. 3. p. 336. does not speak of Christ at all, much less so as to ex-
clude him, and only intend the Father. Origen’s Observation is entirely
false, unless our Author will give up all those Texts, in which the Ar-
ticle is not prefixed, as intending the Word. M 3 CHAP.



C H A P. VII.

The Opinion of Tertullian, concerning the Consubstantiality of the Son, as altogether agreeing with the Nicene Faith, explained.

WE come now to *Tertullian*, though some Persons have thought he has deny'd the Eternity of the Son, (Men who either could not, or would not search out his meaning; for I shall shew hereafter that *Tertullian*, in what Manner soever he hath spoken in some Places, did really acknowledge the Eternity of the second Person in the Trinity) yet he hath constantly, every where, and in exprefs Words confessed his Consubstantiality. There is one Book of his against *Praxeas*, written fully and professedly upon the Trinity; wherein he so often and so clearly speaks of the Consubstantiality, that you'd believe him to be a *Post-Nicene* Author. From this and his other Works I will give you some of the more remarkable Passages. Thus, *he says*, “¹ We affirm “ that he was produced from the Father, and by Production begotten, and that he therefore is the Son of “ God, and called God from the Unity of his Substance; “ for God also is a Spirit.” Here he plainly concludes the Son is of one Substance with the *Father*, *i. e.* Consubstantial, because begotten of him. He intends the same Things when he writes thus: “² He is the first begotten, as being begotten before all Things, and the “ only begotten, as being alone, begotten of God, properly in the Womb of his Heart.”

2. Let us consider the Similitudes, by which he attempts in some sort to explain the Generation of the Son; these clearly prove the Consubstantiality. In his Apolo-

¹ P. 19.

² P. 503.

getic after the Words just recited, are these : “¹ When
 “ a Ray is projected from the Sun, there is a Part from
 “ the whole; but the Sun will be in the Ray, because
 “ it is the Ray of the Sun. † The Substance is not se-
 “ perated, but extended. So Spirit from Spirit, God
 “ from God. As Light is kindled by Light, and the
 “ original Matter remains entire, and whole, though you
 “ borrow from it many derivative Qualities; so what
 “ comes from God is God, the Son of God, and both
 “ are one; so Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, made
 “ *the second* or another in Disposition, not Number in De-
 “ gree, not State. It proceeds out of, but does not de-
 “ part from the Original.”² Here you have the very
 same Words and Sense as the *Nicene Creed*. There is
 a famous Place in the Book against *Praxeas* : “³ This
 “ is the true Prolation, the Preserver of Unity, when
 “ we say that the Son is produced by the Father, not
 “ separated from him. For God produced the Word,
 “ as the Root a Branch, the Fountain a River, the Sun
 “ a Ray. Now those Species are the Projections of those
 “ Substances, from which they proceed.” Parallel to
 this is another Place, where he says : “⁴ I will follow
 “ the Apostle, so that if the Father and Son must be
 “ named together, I will call the Father God, and Jesus
 “ Christ Lord : But I can call Christ alone, God, as the
 “ same Apostle does ; *of whom is Christ, who is over all*
 “ *God blessed for ever*. For I shall call the Ray of the
 “ Sun by it self, the Sun ; but when I name the Sun,
 “ whose Ray it is, I shall not at the same Time call the
 “ Ray the Sun. For though I don't make two Suns,
 “ I shall as much account the Sun and his Ray two
 “ Things, and two Species, or Appearances of one undi-
 “ vided Substance, as God and his Word, as the Father
 “ and Son.” In which Words he affirms Christ is by

¹ p. 19. † This whole Passage is dropt by Dr. Whitby, though
 he has cited the Words immediately before it. ² Vide not. in, La-

cum. ³ p. 504. [Quemadmodum etiam Paracletus docet] is left
 out for an obvious Reason, which also no Way affects the Cause. ⁴ p.

807.

the Apostle, called *God over all blessed for ever*, and teaches that the Father and Son are of one undivided Substance. ¹ Again he says, that *Christ is the Spirit, even the Substance of the Creator, and that they, who knew not the Father, could not know the Son, who is made of the same Substance*. Which is the constant Doctrine of *Tertullian*, as he witnesseth: ² *I derive the Son from nothing, but the Substance of the Father*. And again, ³ *But I every where hold one Substance in three Coherents*.

3. Hence the same *Tertullian* distinguishing the two Natures in Christ, the Divine and Humane, against those that deny'd the Truth and Frailty of his Flesh, expressly teaches, that the same Christ was both truly God, and of the Substance of God, with respect to his more excellent Nature; and also truly Man, and look upon him humane Substance, with respect to his other Nature; that in the Divine Nature, he was uncreated, not made, in the Humane he was made; ⁴ "Therefore (says he) being
" accounted of both Substance, he exhibited to us God,
" and Man; as God not made, as Man made; here carnal, and there Spiritual; here Infirm, there Almighty;
" here dying, there living. Which Propriety of the
" Conditions, Divine and Humane, is manifested or noted in an equal Reality of both Natures, in the same
" Belief of the Spirit, and the Flesh." Here a Countryman of ours has given us an absurd Comment upon [*non natus*] *not born, i. e. of a Humane Mother*: For by a Parity of Reason, Christ, as Man, may be said to be *non natus, i. e. of a Humane Father*. But I am fully persuaded that *Tertullian* (a great Proficient in the Greek Ecclesiastical Authors) had in this Place, an Eye upon, and for the most Part transcribed, a famous Place of *Ignatius* ⁵ aforecited. *There is one Physician, &c.* For *Tertullian* has *natus*, and *non natus*, where *Ignatius* uses *γεννῆς καὶ ἀγέννητος*. *Tertullian*, *hinc Carneus, inde Spiritalis*. *Ignatius* *Σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικὸς*. *Tertullian*, *Deus & Homo*;

¹ p. 400.
Señ. Ch. 2. n. 6.

² p. 502.

³ p. 506.

⁴ p. 310.

⁵ *This*

Ignatius ἐν οὐρα, or ἐν ἀνδραγαθίᾳ Θεοῦ. Lastly, *Tertullian*, hinc moriens, inde vivens. *Ignatius*, ἐν σωτηρίᾳ ζών. Almost word for word. And indeed, I am induced to believe that *Tertullian* did not use his own Words, but *Ignatius's*, and that for more Reasons than one. First, It would seem strange, that he should by Chance, hit upon so many Words, the very same of *Ignatius's*; and that disposed in the same Antithetical Manner. Secondly, *Tertullian*, when he uses his own way of speaking, only makes the Father *non natus*, understanding that, only properly called *non natus*, which is not originated. But the ἀγενής of *Ignatius*, was verbally to be rendered *non natus*, and *Tertullian* saw by the *Antythesis* that *Ignatius* intended nothing else, than that Christ, as God, was uncreate, which he himself also owned. To which we must also add, that this Sentence of *Ignatius*, in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, seems to be in high Esteem, and of great Use against the Heretics, who taught Blasphemy concerning the Person of Christ, and therefore was very famous amongst the Doctors of the Church upon this account. *Athanasius*, *Gelasius*, and *Theodoret* used it. Hence (to observe that by the bye) *Daille's Sophism* against the Epistles of *Ignatius*, drawn from the Silence of *Tertullian* is clearly refuted. “*Tertullian*, says he, observes that the Marcionites were a very early and abortive Sect, who called Christ a Phantom, and he proves this from St. John. But *Ignatius* lasht their Doctrine; *Tertullian* therefore would have added *Ignatius's* Testimony to St. John's, if he had known him.” The right reverend, and very learned Prelate, Bishop *Pearson* answers, that *Tertullian* in all his extant Writings never cites any Sentence out of an Ecclesiastic Author in so many Words, and with the Author's Name; which I think is very true. I add, that nevertheless, *Tertullian* in the Place cited, uses *Ignatius's* Sense, and his Words for the most Part, though he conceals his Name, and that he does it against those, who taught that Christ was a Phantom, and who were opposed by *Ignatius*.

tius. Let the learned judge. But to return from this Digression.

4. Agreeably to the aforecited Place, *Tertullian* often pronounces, that the Son, as God, is alike honourable and equal to the Father. We shall hear him quickly affirming that all the three Persons of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are of one Substance, of one State, of one Power. ¹ As for the Son, he confesses, that all the Names and Attributes of the Father agree to the Son, as he is the Son of God. "The Name of the Father, according to Scripture is God Almighty, the most high, Lord of Hosts, King of *Israel*, who is. These we say are agreeable to the Son, that the Son came in these Names, that he always acted in them, and so manifested them in himself to Men. All the Father's are mine," says he. Why not the Names too? When you read then God Almighty, the most high, the God of Hosts, the King of *Israel*, the Who is, see if the Son is not signify'd by them, the Almighty God in his own right, as being the Word of the Almighty, &c." The Place against *Marcion* ² is more express: "He says, † all Things were given him by the Father. You may believe if Christ is the Creator's, whose are all Things, that the Creator has given the Son, not inferior to himself, all Things, which he made by him, *i. e.* by his Word." To these you may add the plain Words of *Tertullian*: ³ *And God the Word, who was made in the Form of God, thought it not Robbery (pariari) to be equal with God.* Again: ⁴ *Thence † making him equal to himself,*
by

¹ p. 510. ² p. 440. † *The Dr. strangely reads this Place. After these Words [the Lord of Hosts, because all Things are subjected to him by the Father] he adds [not by a natural Right, but as delivered by the Father, and consequently his by Donation] then he omits the Title ὁ υἱ, Qui est, or as we render it [I am, that I am] and the Reason given for applying it to the Son, namely, because many are called Sons, but are not so, a Reason which will no more fit the Arian Scheme, than the Doctor's Citation agrees with the Author, from whom he pretends to take it.* ³ p. 328. ⁴ p. 503. † *Exinde patrem sibi Faciens. The Doctor would read Patrem, so making him a Father to himself, by proceeding from whom he became the Son. The Sense of this Place,*

by proceeding from whom, *hew as made the Son*. Again, ¹ *He that says, I and the Father are one, shews them to be two, whom he equalizes, and joins together.*

5. By these Places, those other Sayings of *Tertullian* should be expounded, *i. e.* that the Son is in that Relation to the Father, as a *Part* to the *Whole*. Such Expressions are not to be taken strictly, but candidly and equitably, always attending to the Mind and Meaning of the Author, in other Passages, more clearly explained. The Similitude is thus far just. First, As the Part does not of it self, constitute the whole, so the Son of himself, is not all that is God, but besides him there are other Subsistences, namely, the Father, and the Holy Ghost. Secondly, As the Part is taken from the whole, and the whole is in Nature prior to the Parts, so the Son is derived from the Father's Substance, and the Father, as Father, is in Nature prior to the Son. But here it fails. First, By Part we understand what is divided from the whole, but the Son is, and always was undivided from the Father. This *Tertullian* every where constantly affirms. ² Thus in a Place aforecited, *We say the Son is produced by, but not separated from the Father*. Again, ³ *Understand every where that I have professed this Rule, That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are inseparate from one another.* † Again, ⁴ *We have also shewed that there are two Gods, and two Lords, spoken of in Scripture, and lest any Scandal should arise from it, we give a Reason. As Gods, or Lords, they are not called two, but as Father, and Son; and this not by a Separation of Substance, but by a Disposition; for we pronounce, that the Son is indivisible and inseparate from the Father.* Secondly, The Part is less than

Place, if there is any in it, is purely Sabellian, *i. e.* for that Error, which *Tertullian* in this very Piece opposes. But perhaps the Doctor takes [*sibi*] to be apply'd to the Son, which is something extraordinary in Grammar. The old reading I fancy will please better at last, notwithstanding, all the Force that supports this Conjecture; and the Doctor upon second Thoughts be reconciled to Grammar and good Sense. ¹ p. 513. ² p. 504. ³ p. 511. † These Places of *Tertullian* are wholly neglected by Dr. Whitby, though they fully answer his Allegation against the Bishop, p. 140. ⁴ p. 400.

the

the whole, but the Son (except as he is Son) is in all Things equal to the Father, and possesses all that the Father has. This *Tertullian* plainly proves in so many Places aforecited. To which we may add another, in which after he had said, that the Son is part of the Plenitude of the Divine Substance, he expressly adds, that the Part is Co-partner in that Plenitude. But when *Tertullian* compares the Father and Son, by a Similitude fetcht from the Sun (as he speaks) the sun, or whole of that Substance, which is in the Heavens, whose Brightness is not to be beheld, and its Ray, whose Splendor, as a Part, is tolerable (unless we will make him guilty of a gross Contradiction) we must understand him of that Dispensation, which the Son of God, of his great Charity to Mankind, freely undertook, in which from the Fall of the first Man, he humbled himself, appeared after some sort to Holy Men in every Age, in the Fulness of Time was made Man, and conversed familiarly with us. Nay, that this is the meaning of *Tertullian*, and the other Fathers, in those Places, in which they prove, that he, who appeared to the Patriarchs, was not God the Father, but his Son, upon this account, because the Father is invisible, and not included in any Place, but the Son is visible, and included, I will shew hereafter, in the fourth Section.

6. But what occasion for many Words? *Tertullian* every where openly professes an entire consubstantial, co-equal Trinity. So against *Praxeas*,¹ after he has recited the Rule of Faith, he subjoins: “ But without hazard
“ to this Prescription, for the Instruction and Defence
“ of some, there is every where opportunity to be given
“ for Researches; lest every Deviation should seem to
“ be condemned prejudicately, and without Examination;
“ this especially, which thinks it self in Possession
“ of real Truth, no otherwise, in believing one God,
“ than by saying, that one and the same Person is Father,
“ Son, and Holy Ghost, as though one was not

“ all, whilst all proceed from one by an Unity of Sub-
 “ stance, and the Holy Mystery of the Oeconomy is still
 “ preserved, which makes an Unity in Trinity, teaching
 “ that there are three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
 “ three not in State, but Degree, not in Substance, but
 “ Form, not in Power, but * Species or Reality, and that
 “ they are of one Substance, one State, and one Power ;
 “ because there is one God, from whom those Degrees,
 “ Forms, Species, in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy
 “ Ghost are reckoned.” Here by *Degree* he means (if I
 don’t mistake) that Order, in which the Father exists of
 himself, the Son immediately proceeds from the Father,
 and the Spirit from the Father by the Son ; and therefore
 the Father is justly called the first, the Son the second, and
 the Holy Ghost the third Person of the Godhead. By
 Forms and Species he seems to intend divers Modes of
 Subsistence, in which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost sub-
 sist in the same Divine Nature. But be this as it will, in
 these Words all the three Persons are said to be Coequal
 and Consubstantial. To this place I must add another :
 “ ¹ We define two, Father and Son, yea, three with the
 “ Holy Ghost, as the Oeconomy directs, which makes
 “ more than one, lest (as you perversely infer) it should
 “ be believed that the Father was born, or suffered, a
 “ Thing not to be believed, because not delivered down
 “ to us. But we never say there are two Gods, or two
 “ Lords ; not as though the Father was not God, the Son
 “ God, and the Holy Ghost God, and every one of them
 “ God ; but because in times past two Gods and two
 “ Lords were preached, that when Christ came, he might
 “ be acknowledged, and called Lord, as being the Son of
 “ the Lord God.” You may observe by the bye, that
 Tertullian expressly calls the *Holy Spirit God*, as well as the

* I know not well how to avoid this dangerous Word. From the Te-
 nour of this very Book, nay, of this Passage, it can do no harm ; and
 seems to have been made use of, in order to get as far off from Praxeas
 as possible. ¹ p. 507. Here again he refers to his Paraclete, but not
 as making this a singular Doctrine of that Paraclete, but of the Scrip-
 ture.

Father and Son. I note this against *Erasmus*¹, who rashly affirms, that no Antient durst call him so till the times of *Hilary*. I could largely confute him, if it suited my present Design. Whosoever pleases, may consult *Petavius* upon this Head². I return to my purpose, and to the afore-cited add only one place³ where *Tertullian* expressly owns the Trinity of one Deity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

7. Before I proceed to the other Antients, I must detain my Reader with the Confutation of a strange Whim in *Sandius*. * He says it is plain *Tertullian* was an *Arian* before he fell into *Montanism*. From this vain Supposition he thus argues: Upon which Account, if there is any Thing in his Writings for the Consubstantiality, the Arians may with better Right enervate his Authority by the Objection of Montanism, as though he then at last, when become a Montanist, began to think of a Consubstantial Trinity. With a better Right than whom? Than the Catholics? Did they use this Objection against any false Doctrine of his concerning the Son of God? No. But this is all false. For, (1.) It is plain the Catholic Doctors who were before *Tertullian* and *Montanus*, did all own the Consubstantiality of the Son and Holy Spirit. This we have proved by Citations from their Writings. *Tertullian* therefore learnt this Doctrine not from *Montanus*, to whom he went over, but of the Catholic Church, which he left. Besides, we find in all his Writings, those before and after his Defection, plain Proofs of this Doctrine, as all know who have read him, and as the afore-cited Places sufficiently shew. Again, though *Tertullian* ridiculously boasted of clearer Light from the Spirit of *Montanus*, both in this and other Articles of

¹ In Præf. ad Hilarium. ² Petav. de Trin. lib. 3. cap. 7. §. 1. &c.

³ p. 574. * Dr. Whitby is wonderful Civil to the Church in his Note upon this place, and especially to his Holiness the Pope, and joins Regaltius to ward off the Force of the Citation. They pretend that *Tertullian* had a Mind to suggest, that the Pope was not found in the Doctrine of the Trinity. But there is no Appearance of any such Thing. He indeed reproaches 'em that they are not Spiritual, but no where hints that they were not Trinitarian. The Reader will do well to consult the whole Piece de Pudicitia, and see which is the Truth. Here Mr. Whiston has joined *Sandius*.

the Creed, than he had from the Letter of the Scripture and Apostolical Tradition; yet he plainly confesses that he always held the same Faith and Opinion of the Holy Trinity. ¹ His Words are clear: "We always did, and
 " do now more especially believe (being better instructed
 " by the Paraclete, the leader into all Truth) that there is
 " only one God; but under this Dispensation (which we
 " call Oeconomy) that this one God hath a Son, his
 " Word, who proceeded from him." Again, after he hath recited the Creed, he affirms, that a consubstantial Trinity is contained in it. The Learned agree, and the Thing is plain in it self, that *Tertullian* understood by the Paraclete, *Montanus's* Paraclete, to whose Guidance he had given himself up, after he left the Church. I would have the Reader recollect here, what I before observed concerning *Montanus*. ²

8. Acknowledge the wonderful Skill of *Sandius* in the Antients, whom he pretends to censure. To prove his Hypothesis, he uses this Argument; "That those Doctrines which favour of *Arianism* are chiefly found in
 " the Books of *Tertullian*, which *Jerome* does not reckon
 " in the Number of those he wrote for *Montanus*, but
 " which he must necessarily have written before he fell in-
 " to *Montanism*, such are his Pieces against *Praxeas* and
 " *Hermogenes*." But, (1.) I've shewn before that the Consubstantiality of the Son, sufficiently opposite to the *Arian* Heresy, is very often, and very plainly taught in his Book against *Praxeas*. (2.) It is so far from necessary, that it is plainly false that his Book against *Praxeas* was written before he fell into *Montanism*. For *Tertullian* himself, and that in this very Book against *Praxeas* tells us, that he was then, when he wrote, separated from those he calls Animal, the Catholics, and attach'd to the *Montanists*. For not far from the beginning of the Book he writes thus: "³ For the same [*Praxeas*] forced the then
 " Bishop of Rome, who acknowledged the Prophecies of
 " *Montanus*, *Prisca* and *Maximilla*, and from that Ac-

¹ p. 501.² This Sect. ch. 1. n. 15.³ p. 501.

" knowledge

“ knowledge sent Peace to the Churches of *Asia* and
 “ *Phrygia*, to recal his Letters of Peace then sent out, and
 “ to depart from his Purpose of receiving the Gifts, by
 “ asserting Falsehoods of the Prophets and their Churches,
 “ and by defending the Authority of his [the Bishop’s]
 “ Predecessors. Thus *Praxeas* managed two of the De-
 “ vil’s Affairs at *Rome*; he expelled Prophecy, and brought
 “ in Heresy, he drove away the Paraclete, and crucified
 “ the Father.” You observe then that *Tertullian* was so
 angry at *Praxeas*, because he had persuaded the Bishop of
Rome to reject *Montanus* with his Followers, and their
 Prophecies, that he says in this he had been Proctor for
 the Devil. *Tertullian* therefore was not only a *Montanist* at
 that time, but a Zealot in the Sect. In the same Place a little
 after he says : And the Acknowledgment and Defence of
 the Paraclete hath separated us from the Animal Men.
 As concerning what he says of *Jerome*, that he does not
 reckon the Book against *Praxeas*, among those *Tertullian*
 wrote for *Montanus* ; I answer, that the Books which *Ter-*
tullian after he was a *Montanist* wrote properly for *Monta-*
nus against the Church, are to be distinguisht from those
 Books, which the same *Tertullian* when a *Montanist* wrote,
 not for *Montanus* against the Church, but for the Do-
 ctrines held in common by the Church and *Montanus*
 against other Heretics. In the former Class, *Jerome* places
 the Books, of *Chastity*, of *Fasts*, of *Monogamy*, and *Ecstasy*.
 In the latter I have evidently proved the Book against
Praxeas.

Dr. GRABE’s Annotations.

TO the many places cited by *Tertullian* against *Praxeas*,
 for the Consubstantiality of the Son, I add a very
 remarkable Passage concerning the Trinity in the same
 Book : “ So the Connection of the Father in the Son,
 “ and the Son in the Paraclete makes three coherent One
 “ with another. Which three are one Substance, not one

“Subsistence, as it is said, I and the Father are one, in
 “Unity of Substance, not Singularity of Person.” Col-
 late this with what follows, *Ch. 8. Sect. 4.*



C H A P. VIII.

The Nicene Creed, concerning the Consubstantiality of the Son, confirmed by the Testimonies of Caius a Presbyter, and Hippolytus a famous Bishop and Martyr.

INOW come to the Ecclesiastical Writers next in Age to *Tertullian*. In the Times of *Photius*, there was a Book intitled, *Of the Universe*. Some very ridiculously attributed this Piece to *Josephus the Jew*, others to *Justin Martyr*, and others to *Irenaeus*, as the same *Photius* tells us. But *Photius* has rightly followed their Opinion, who say it was wrote by one *Caius* a Presbyter, the Author of a famous Book call'd, *The Labyrinth*, who flourisht in the Days of *Zephyrinus* ² Bishop of *Rome*: For this *Caius*, in the Conclusion of *the Labyrinth*, says he was the Author of the Book concerning the Nature of the Universe. How Catholicly this Author wrote all through concerning the true Divinity of our Lord, *Photius* informs us in these Words: “He speaks exactly of the Divinity
 “of Christ, our true God; he both calls him by the
 “name Christ, and unexceptionably describes his ineffable
 “Generation from the Father.” Surely *Caius* could not have wrote very properly and unexceptionably of the true Divinity of our Saviour, and of his ineffable Generation, in *Photius*’s Judgment at least, if any Thing had fallen from him, which made for the *Arians*, or in Appearance only

¹ Phot. p. 35. Cod. 48.
 p. 36.

² Victor & Zephyrinus, *Photius* says,

opposed the Consubstantiality of the Son. With the best Reason therefore we place this Writer among the Patrons of the Catholic *Nicene* Creed.

2. Next to him is *Hippolytus* the Martyr and Bishop of *Portua* (as we learn from ¹ *Anastasius Biblioth.*) he flourished in the Reign of *Alexander*, the Son of *Mammea*, about the Year 220. In his small Pieces against *Bero* and *Helice* in the Collection ² of *Anastasius*, he accurately discerns two Natures in Christ, and plainly demonstrates the Divine to be the same with that of the Father. For he describes Christ, as being, and understood to be, infinite God, and circumscribed Man at the same time, as having perfectly the perfect Nature of both. There is a famous Confession of the same Person concerning the Divine and Humane Nature of Christ, as express and significant as any of the *Post-Nicene*: “The Divinity is such after the Incarnation, “ as it was before, in Nature infinite, incomprehensible, “ without Passions, Change or Variation, Power it self, “ and, to say all, essentially subsisting, and the only infinitely powerful Good.” No Man will wonder that *Hippolytus* hath spoken so highly of the Son of God, who remembers he was the Disciple of *Clemens Alexandrin.* (according to the Antients) who wrote as greatly as any one concerning Christ the true God.

3. These Things are so plain and clear, that *Sandius* ³ hath no way to evade them, but by denying boldly that they belong to *Hippolytus*. Let us see his Reasons for setting up this decretory Sentence of his against the Judgment of *Anastasius*, that antient and great *Librarian*, and as his Business required, very well versed in the Manuscript Copies of the antienter Fathers. “Neither *Eusebius* nor “ *Jerome* have mentioned such a Tract.” As though they had never omitted any. Now *Eusebius* ⁴ plainly professes, that he never put out a full Catalogue of *Hippolytus*’s Works, and after he has reckoned up some of them, adds, *And a great many more you may find preserved in the Hands of many.*

¹ Collect. p. 210.

² Ibid. p. 211.

³ De Scrip. Eccl. p. 27.

⁴ E. H. p. 182.

But *Jerome* added but a very few to the Catalogue of *Eusebius*. *Sandius* might with as good Probability have contended that *Hippolytus* was not the Bishop of any Church, for both *Eusebius* and *Jerome* were ignorant of the place, and we are obliged to *Anastasius* for it. But he has another small Reason for us. "He must either be a *Sabellian*, or " an *Eutychian*, who was Author of those Fragments, because of these Words: *Which is the same with the Father, " being made also the same with Flesh by Exinanition*. Both " these Forms of Speech (according to *Ignatius*) ' are Heretical; for he says, the Heretics teach, that the Father, " the Son, and the Holy Ghost are the same, and afterwards, that God and Man are not the same. For if " [*the same*] be said to mean an Identity of Subsistence, it " is manifest *Sabellianism*; if an Unity of Essence and Nature, it is plain *Eutychianism*." To which I answer, [*the same*] in the former Member of the Sentence denotes an Unity of Essence, not an Identity of Subsistence, which alone the spurious *Ignatius* cited by *Sandius* opposes. Nor can it be allowed that *Eutychianism* is confirmed by those Words [*the same with the Flesh*]. That you may see the intolerable Ignorance and Fraud of the Man, observe the whole Fragment of *Hippolytus*, as it runs thus: *That which was the same with the Father, underwent no Change at all in becoming the same with Flesh by Exinanition; but so as it was without the Flesh, so it remained without any Circumscription*. You see *Hippolytus* does not here affirm, but expressly denies, that the Word, the Son of God was after his Incarnation, in any Thing the same with Flesh. Nothing could be more full against *Eutyches*. But *Sandius* insists, that it is abundantly plain the Author was a *Sabellian* from those Words of his in *Anastasius*, in which he attributes to the Son ἀϋεὶ νοῖαν; for *Ignatius* writes in the said place, that the Heretics (the *Simonians*, the fore-runners of *Sabellius*) thought Christ ἀϋεὶ νῆ. Here the Sophist plays with an homonymous Word, and intends to cheat his Reader. I have shewed above that the Words ἀϋεὶ νῆ and ἀϋεὶ νοῖαν

* Ep. Interpol. ad Trall.

are promiscuously used by Ecclesiastical Writers, especially the *Ante-Nicene*; so that as well the one as the other signified, *uncreate, not made*, in which Sense the true *Ignatius* expressly said, that the Son was ἀγέννητος. *Anastasius* therefore very truly, though barbarously translates the Word ἀγέννητος used by *Hippolytus*, *infactio*. But I'm ashamed to be so tedious in such obvious Matters.

4. Their Objection is more specious, who endeavour to prove these Fragments none of *Hippolytus's*, because in them the Heresy of *Eutyches*, of much later Date than *Hippolytus*, is refuted. *Posssevinus*, out of *Canisius*, thus answers these Men, that the Error, which confounded the Natures of Christ, against which *Hippolytus* disputes, was not born and introduced with *Apollinaris* and *Eutyches*, but was much more Antient, and mentioned by *Justin Martyr* in the Exposition of the Faith. I'm inclined to believe *Posssevinus* and *Canisius* mistaken in attributing that Piece to *Justin*, but it is very clear from others, and I could confirm it by many Testimonies, that the Error, &c. was older than *Apollinaris* and *Eutyches*, and was opposed by Doctors of the Church more Antient than *Hippolytus*. I shall content my self with one Passage out of *Tertullian* ¹. He thus disputes concerning the Incarnation in that undoubted Book of his against *Praxeas*: "The Question
" is this, how Christ was made Flesh, whether he was
" transformed into it, or cloathed with it? He was cloathed
" with it. For it is necessary that we believe God to be
" immutable, not to be formed into any other Thing, as
" he is Eternal. Now Transformation is the Destruction
" of what was before; for every Thing that is transformed
" into another Thing ceases to be what it was,
" and begins to be what it was not. But God neither
" ceases to be, nor can be any other than he was. But
" the Word is God, and the Word of the Lord remaineth
" for ever, still abiding in his own Form. Now if he
" was not capable of being transformed, the consequence is
" that he was so made Flesh, as to be in the Flesh, he is

¹ P. 516.

“ manifest in it, seen and handled by it. And so we
 “ must understand it by a Parity of Reason. For, if the
 “ Word is made Flesh by Transformation and Change of
 “ Substance, then Jesus will be one Substance made up of
 “ two, a certain Mixture of Flesh and Spirit, as the *Ele-*
 “ *trum*, a Composition of Gold and Silver, and begins
 “ to be neither Gold, *i. e.* Spirit, nor Silver, *i. e.* Flesh,
 “ whilst they are changed one with the other, and a third
 “ made out of both. Therefore Jesus can’t be God ;
 “ for the Word ceased to be when made Flesh ; nor the
 “ Flesh Man, for he is not properly Flesh, who was the
 “ Word ; so then of both there is neither, and the third
 “ is something very different from both. But we find
 “ him directly explained to us as God and Man, surely in
 “ every respect the Son of God, and the Son of Man,
 “ doubtless according to both Substances different from
 “ each other in their Properties, because the Word can be
 “ no other than God, and the Flesh no other than Man.
 “ Thus the Apostle informs us of both his Substances :
 “ *Who was made*, says he, *of the Seed of David* ? This is
 “ Man, and the Son of Man ; who was defined *the Son of*
 “ *God according to the Spirit* ? This is God, the Word of
 “ God, the Son. We say two States, not confounded,
 “ but joined in one Person, God and the Man Jesus.”
 Thus *Tertullian*, who was more antient than *Hippolytus*,
 as exprefs and effectual as any Thing spoken against *Euty-*
chianism it self. Who would not take him for an egregi-
 ous Sophist, who should hence conclude, that the Book
 against *Praxeas*, was none of *Tertullian*’s, but some Body’s
 who wrote after *Eutyches* ? Indeed it is in the Church, as
 in the World. The same round. A latter Age calls those
 new Heresies, which are only antient Errors revived.

5. What means the Author of the *Irenicum* ¹ to reject
 these Fragments, as but very lately produced ? Is *Anasta-*
sius, in whose Collections they are found, and produced as
 the genuine Pieces of *Hippolytus*, who flourish’d 800 Years
 ago, of so very late a Date ? Or does he suspect that these

¹ p. 67.

Collections, publish'd by *Sirmondus* 1620, are not the genuine Works of *Anastasius*? *Anastasius* owns them plainly in an undoubted Piece of his, and (as *Labbe*¹ observes) expounds some of those little Things, which he had translated into *Latin*, and thrown into his Collection. He objects, that in these Fragments there are some Things concerning the Eternity of the Son repugnant to the Doctrine of *Hippolytus* in his undoubted Piece against *Noetus*. This I shall shew to be frivolous in my third Section; he mistakes again, when he cites this Passage out of the Book against *Noetus*, as contradictory to the Doctrine of the Author of the Fragments: "Nor is the Word of it self, and without the Flesh, the perfect Son, though the Only-begotten was a perfect Word; nor can the Flesh of it self without the Word subsist, because it hath its Subsistence in the Word, it subsists in it." *Hippolytus* was not so mad, as to say (as this nameless Author would have him) that the Word, or Only-begotten had any intrinsic Perfection by taking upon him Flesh; but plainly teaches the contrary. For, (1.) he expressly saith that our Lord was the perfect Word, and Only-begotten before Incarnation. (2.) He teaches clearly, that the Word, or Only-begotten was so far from being improved by the humane Flesh, that the Flesh owed its Subsistence to the Word. What then, you'll say, did *Hippolytus* mean by saying, that the Word, or Only-begotten without the Flesh was not a perfect Son? He meant that the Word before Incarnation had not every Degree of Filiation, was not so the Son of God, as the Father would have him. The Antients attributed to him a threefold Nativity or Filiation. The 1st, as the Word was from Eternity begotten of the Mind of the Father. From this Nativity there was a perfect Divine Subsistence, to which the other Nativities made no Accession, but rather were to be esteemed so many Humiliations, and Condescensions of the Son of God. The 2d is, that, when the Word went out from the Father energetically, with whom he had been,

¹ Labbe Dissert. Hist. p. 65. Vol. 1.

before any Thing but God existed, *i. e.* Eternally, when he proceeded from him, and condescended to create the Universe. The 3d, when the same Word was made Flesh, came down from the Bosom of the Father into the Womb of the Blessed Virgin, and became Man of her by the over-shadowing of the Holy Ghost. This was the last Condescension (eternally to be adored by us Men; and even by Angels), this being finish'd, he was the perfect Son of God, had every kind of Filiation; for the other Filiations, which regard the humane Nature of Christ, depend upon, and follow from this. Of this more largely in the third Section. In the mean time this must be observed, that some of those places cited by the Author of the *Irenicum* out of *Hippolytus* against *Noetus* as repugnant to the Creed of *Nice*, the Catholic Faith, do greatly confirm it. Thus: "When I say another (namely, the Son from the Father). I don't say two Gods, but as it were, Light of Light, Water from the Fountain, or a Ray from the Sun. The Power is one from the whole, the Father is the whole from whom the Power, the Word is. For this Mind, or Sense, which came into the World is shewn to be the Son of God. All Things were made by him, he alone is begotten of the Father." Where he proves the Father and Son personally distinct to be therefore one God, because the Son is not God of himself, but God of God, even of the Father, as Light is of Light, Water of the Fountain, and a Ray of the Sun, and expressly excepts the Son out of the Number of created Things, saying, that he alone was begotten of the Father; all of them Things perfectly agreeing to the *Nicene* Faith. Nor should it give any Offence that *Hippolytus* calls the Father, *The Whole*, the Son, *The Virtue or Power from the Whole*. For the Father is rightly called the Whole, as he is the Fountain of the Deity: For the Divinity which is in the Son and the Holy Spirit is the Father's, as derived from the Father. In like manner the other place cited out of the same Book by this Sophist is truly Catholic: *The Father commands, the Word performs. The Son is exhibited, the Father through him is believed.*

believed. The Oeconomy of Agreement terminates in one God. There is one God, even the Father who commands, the Son who obeys, and the Holy Ghost who teaches knowledge. It is the Father who is over all, the Son who is through all, the Holy Ghost who is in all. Here Hippolytus plainly teaches, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God; he gives to every one of them Omnipresence, and a Divine Power which pervades all Things. That he says the Father commands, and the Son obeys, he says no more, nor other than the other Orthodox *Ante-Nicene* and *Post-Nicene* Fathers. See what we have discoursed before¹ concerning *Irenæus*. That he says the Father is over all, is to be referred to his Eminence, as Father, which all the Catholics acknowledge. But what Occasion for many Words? The very Title of the Book against *Noëtus* sufficiently shews, how vain the Author of the *Irenicum* is in his Attempt to prove *Arianism* from it. The Title is this, *A Homily concerning God, Three and One, and concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation, against the Heresy of Noëtus*. Now surely no *Arian* can profess to believe in God Three and One, unless sophistically and fraudulently. *Vide Grabe's Note.*

Grabe's Annotations take Notice of another Passage in that part of *Caius's* Book concerning the Universe, which treats of the infernal State, in which the Souls of the Just and Unjust are contained, publish'd first by *Hæschelius*, and since inserted in a Collection of several sacred Writers by *Le Moyne*, who makes *Hippolytus* the Author of it. "All whether Just or Unjust shall be brought before God the Word. To him the Father hath given all Judgment. He performing the Will of the Father shall come as Judge, whom we call Christ." There are also several other Citations out of *Hippolytus* from *Theodore*t, &c.

¹ This Section, ch. 5. n. 6.



C H A P. IX.

Origen's Doctrine concerning the true Divinity of the Son of God is largely and clearly shewn to be Catholic, and exactly agreeable to the Nicene Creed; and that especially from that most pure and exact Piece of his against Cel-
sus, which was the Work of his old Age.

LET Origen, his Rival and Superior succeed Hippolytus. It is strange how great Controversy there has been betwixt both Antients and Moderns about the Doctrine of this celebrated Person. To speak of the Antients, only conformably to my Design, some extol him to the Heavens, others devote him to Hell as the worst of Heresiarchs, especially in the Point before us. As for the Catholic Doctors who were nearer his times, the greater and better part of them assent to him. *Alexander of Jerusalem, Theodotus of Caesarea, Dionysius of Alexandria, Firmilian of Caesarea, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and Athenodorus*, his Contemporaries had him in great Esteem. All *Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, and Achaia* defended his Cause against *Demetrius of Alexandria*. The same was done by *Pamphilus the Martyr, and Eusebius of Caesarea* in an Apology of six Books, all lost except one. *Photius*¹ says, many other great Men of *Eusebius's* times wrote Apologies for him. Besides, *Athanasius*² has praised him as a strenuous Defender of the Catholic Doctrine against the Heresy, afterwards called *Arianism*. *Didymus of Alexandria* (a famous Man in whom *Jerome* glories as his Master) publish'd an Apology for Origen also, and *Titus Boetrensis*,

¹ Phot. Cod. 117 & 118. p. 194.
& 233.

² Athan. Vol. 1. p. 232

the noble Pair of the *Gregories*, *Nazianzen* and *Nyssen*, and *John of Jerusalem*, often lasht for it by *Epiphanius* and *Jerome*. *Methodius*, who writ a long time before the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy, a bitter Enemy to *Origen*, laid aside his Hatred, and at last was not ashamed to profess himself an admirer of him. Lastly, *Ruffinus* (called by *Cassian* ¹ whatsoever after times thought of him, *The Master of Christian Philosophy*, and no contemptible Man amongst the Ecclesiastical Doctors, whose Sanctity *Jerome* himself at one time extolled) was a great Defender of *Origen*, to say nothing of the many *Egyptian* Monks who engaged so deeply in the Cause betwixt him and *Theophilus Alexandrinus*.

2. In this so great Dissent of such eminent Men, it were much to be wish'd that more of the many Things he wrote had come to our Hands pure and entire, from which we might without Partiality, and with more certainty have determined concerning his Doctrine. But alas! he himself hath complain'd in an Epistle wrote to certain Persons in *Alexandria*, that some of his Books, in his Lifetime, were by bad Men corrupted and interpolated, and others spurious and none of his, publish'd under his celebrated Name. You may easily guess with how much greater Confidence such dark Fellows would play the same Tricks after his Decease. It is certain, far the greatest part of his Writings are lost, and that those which remain, except the Books against *Celsus*, and the Fragments called *Philopalia*, are only extant in *Latin*; and, as it is plain, miserably changed and interpolated by the Interpreters, till of late the famous *Dan. Huetius* publish'd from the *Greek* Manuscripts some of his Comments. Nothing but Envy can deny, that in this he has deserved very well of all Lovers of Antiquity. The same *Huetius* ² says it is to him probable, " That all the Books of *Origen*, that Providence hath transmitted to us, are violated, but especially those, which besides the Mistakes of Transcribers, and the Adulterations of Heretics, have suffered from

¹ Lib. 7. de Incarnatione.

² Origenian. p. 235.

“ the Errors or Fraud of the Interpreters.” He intended, I suppose, to have excepted the Books against *Celsus*, which no Person (that I know) hath suspected to have suffered, in any notable Respect, any otherwise than by the Mistakes of Copiers, from which no Antients are exempt.

3. But if all *Origen's* Writings were extant, pure and incorrupt, they would not all equally serve to shew his true and genuine Opinion. A different Regard must be had to the different Works of a voluminous Author. Some he sent privately ¹ to his Friends, hoping they would never see the Light : In these he hath discoursed loosely, and almost sceptically ; for the most part he has proposed, not so much his own Opinion certain and determinate, as the Reasonings of others, or his own Doubts and Scruples, for the better Illustration of the Truth. Others he publish'd himself, either against Infidels or Heretics, or to instruct the Christian People : In these he hath gone in the safe beaten way, and more studiously delivered the received Doctrine of the Church. Some he hath hastily dictated, others he has work'd off more diligently. Lastly, (to use the Words of *Huetius*), some are the polish'd Pieces of a Genius more cultivated and improved by Age, others the Extravagances of a juvenile Heat. Thus *Jerome* ² very well says of *Origen*, that some of his Treatises are Boyish, some Manly and becoming the Seriousness of old Age. Now it can't be denied, that *Origen's* Suffrage concerning the Catholic Doctrine should be askt from those Writings, he intended for the Public, from those which he finish'd with Thought and Attention, from those he composed when old, and well experienced. Such are the eight Books against *Celsus* the *Epicurean*. In these he defends the common Doctrine of Christians against an able Adversary. These he wrote with all his Care, with the greatest Learning, and when (according to ³ *Eusebius*) he was about sixty. From these Books therefore I shall fetch my Testi-

¹ Of these *Jerome* says, (Ep. 65. ad Pam. & Ocean.) *Origen repented in an Epistle wrote by him to Fabian, and laid the fault of unadvisedly publishing his private Correspondence upon Ambrose.* ² In Prologo ad Comment. in Lucam. ³ E. H. Lib. 6. ch. 36. p. 189.

monies to shew that *Origen* was in this Article a Catholic; only adding some Places, which the Catholic Doctors, who lived nearer his times, and could well know his genuine Works, have supplied me with. From all these I hope my sincere Reader will at last perceive, with what impotent Malice *Petavius* ¹ has raved against *Origen*, whilst he is not afraid thus to speak of this Father, Holy and Learned even in the Opinion of his Enemies: *It is plain from Origen, that he thought impiously and absurdly of the Trinity.* And a little after, *As Origen was before Arius in Age, he was equal to him in Impiety, yea, he taught him that impious Lesson.* And indeed he every where abuses him. Perhaps the Jesuit thought himself obliged to it by his Religion, because the venerable Father and his Followers, with their Doctrines, are damn'd and anathematiz'd in the 5th Synod. ² But there have been great Men of the Romish Church, (*Foannes Picus Mirandula, Jacobus Merlinus Viſturnienſis, Deſiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, Sixtus Senenſis, Claudius Espenceus, Gilbertus Genebrardus, and Petrus Halloixius*), who not terrified with those Anathema's, have dared to name *Origen* without Disgrace, nay, publicly and openly to defend him. They rightly judged that Synod had not anathematized *Origen* himself, and his Tenets, but those pernicious Doctrines of a Trinity of different Substances, of a phantastical Resurrection of the Body, which are contained in the adulterate Works of *Origen*, or which some who would be called *Origenists*, would screen under his great Name. The Synod indeed, with those, did also condemn those Paradoxes, which were really *Origen's*, the Pre-existence of Souls, the animated Stars and Elements, &c. as false and very absurd, not as Heretical, unless persisted in obstinately, and with a Contempt of Catholic Doctrine, a Temper which *Origen* knew nothing of, though it abounded in the *Origenists*. But to come to the Point in Hand.

¹ De Trin. Lib. 1. c. 12. n. 9.

² Dr. Grabe says, rather in another Synod held at Constantinople before the 5th, and refers to Valesius's Notes upon Evagrius, p. 111.

4. *Origen* so often declares the Divine, *i. e.* the uncreate, infinite, incomprehensible, and immutable Nature of the Word and Son of God, in his Books against *Celsus*, that to cite every place of that kind would be to transcribe a great part of his Work. I'll therefore only select some; treating of the *Magi*, who came out of the *East* into *Judea* to see the King, who was discovered to them by an uncommon Star, ¹ he says: "Bringing Gifts, which they offered as Symbols to (if I may so speak) him who was compounded of God and mortal Man, Gold as to a King, Myrrh as to one who should die, Frankincense as to God." Here he acknowledges in the Person of Christ the mortal Man and the immortal God, to whom Divine Honour usually paid by the Oblation of Frankincense, is due. Parallel to this is a place in the *same Book*², where *Celsus* scoffing at the Blood of Jesus poured out upon the Cross, and saying, it was not such Blood, as the blessed Gods used to have; *Origen* thus answers him: "But we believing Jesus, who says of his Godhead; *I'm the Way, the Truth, and the Life*, and such like; and of his Manhood, *But now you seek to kill me, a Man who has told you the Truth*; say, that he is a compound Being." A little after he says, ³ "That there was something Divine under the Appearance of the Man; which was properly the Son of God, God, the Word, the Power and Wisdom of God." And ⁴ again he calls Christ, *God manifested in a Humane Body for the Benefit of our Kind*.

5. In the second Book citing *Gen. i. 26.* ⁵ *Let us make Man after our own Image and Similitude*, and that place of the *Psalms*: *He spoke, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created*; he gathers that it was the Son of God, and the Word, to whom God the Father spoke and commanded, for this Reason: "If God commanded, and the Creatures were made; who, according to the Prophet, could fulfil so great a command of the Father, except (if I may so speak) the animate Word, the Truth?"

¹ Contra Cels. p. 46. ² p. 51. ³ p. 52. ⁴ p. 54. ⁵ p. 63.

In which Words he plainly distinguishes the Son of God from the Creatures; nay, further he clearly teaches, that the Work of the Creation committed by God the Father to the Son is so great, namely, a proper Work of the Divine Omnipotence, that it could not be perfected, but by him, who is the Word and Truth of God the Father. All Men that have Eyes may see a wide difference betwixt this Reasoning, and the abusive Interpretations of these Scriptures which the *Arians* give; as on the other hand, an exact Agreement with the Opinion of the Catholics, who from the Work of the Creation asserted the Divinity of the Son. *Origen* in the same place teaches, ¹ that the Divinity of God the Word is not so circumscribed, as to be no where out of the Body, and the Soul of Jesus, but is and always was every where. And least this should seem to favour *Cerinthianism*, he adds: ² “ This we say, not “ that we separate the Son of God from Jesus; for since “ the Oeconomy, the Body and Soul of Jesus hath been “ strictly united to the Word of God.” Can any one explain both the Natures of Christ, and the hypostatical Union of both more Catholicly than *Origen* in these places? A little after he calls the Body of Christ, *The true Temple of the Word, the Wisdom, and the Truth of God*; ³ which Temple the *Jews* despised, too much revering their Temple of Stones.

6. In the third Book when *Celsus* objects to the Christians; that they believed Jesus, who consisted of a mortal Body to be God; and seemed to themselves in that Respect, or upon that Account, pious; *Origen* thus answers: ⁴ “ Let our Accusers know, that he of whom we “ think and are persuaded that he was from the beginning “ God, and the Son of God, is the Word, the Wisdom, “ the Truth it self; but that his mortal Body, and humane Soul, by not only a Communion, but an Union “ and Incorporation with him, hath received very great “ Improvements, and being made Partaker of the God- “ head, is become God.” The plain Sense of this An-

¹ p. 63.² p. 64.³ Ibid.⁴ p. 135 & 136.

swer, is this: Does it disturb your Brains, you Philosophers, that we Christians call our Saviour Christ, who has a mortal Body, God? Whatever Trouble it may give you, we affirm him to be God, the Reason, the Truth, the Wisdom it self; yea, so God, as that his humane Nature by an Union with the Divine is after a sort deified. Here we must observe the use of *Plato's* way of speaking, *αὐτολόγος, αὐτοαλήθεια*. So *Plato* *αὐτοαἰσθητός*, good it self; giving that Attribute to the true supreme God, betwixt whom and the Word, or Reason he made a wider Difference. But *Origen*, as it were, correcting the *Platonic* Philosophy by the Christian, calls the *Word*, *αὐτοσοφία, αὐτοαλήθεια*, and therefore pronounces that he may be justly called *αὐτοαἰσθητός*. Let not our *Lutheran* Brethren, who defend I know not what Ubiquity of Christ's humane Nature, suppose they have any Advantage from these Words of *Origen*. For in the place afore-cited, *Origen* plainly teaches, that the Word is so joined to the humane Nature of Christ, as that it exists out of the Body and Soul of Jesus, and that to be every where is proper to the Divinity alone. Nay, in this very place, quickly after the Words alledged, he so explains what he said concerning the Mixture of two Natures, as to profess this alone was his Meaning: That the glorified Flesh of Christ was made such, by a Change of Qualities, as was proper to dwell in the highest Heaven; and retained nothing of the natural carnal Infirmary. So much by way of Digression.

7. In the fourth Book we have *Celsus* thus disputing against the *Christian* Doctrine of our Saviour's Descent upon Earth, and his Incarnation. " God is good, fair, " happy, of the best and most beautiful Species. If he " came down to Men, he must be changed: Now this " Change would be from good to bad, from fair to " foul, from happy to unhappy, from best to worst. " Who would desire such a Change? Without doubt " mortal Man only is liable to it: It is the Property of " the immortal God, to be always the same: Therefore

^a p. 169 & 170.

“ God would never admit such a Change.” Now if *Origen* had been an *Arian*, how easily might he have confuted this Argument? Namely, by only saying, that neither he, nor the Catholics of his time, believed the Son of God to be really the immutable God, but made him a Creature of a Nature different from God, and altogether mutable? But *Origen* preserves the Catholic Hypothesis concerning the truly Divine and immutable Nature of the Son of God, and answers thus: “ I think I shall give a
 “ just Answer to these Matters, by laying before you
 “ the Scriptural Account of Christ’s descent to Men; in
 “ order to which there was no Necessity of a Change
 “ (as *Celsus* thinks we say) or Transformation from good
 “ to bad, from fair to foul, from happy to unhappy,
 “ or from best to worst: But remaining in Essence un-
 “ changeable, he by Providence and Oeconomy conde-
 “ scended to Humane Affairs. We will now cite the
 “ Scriptures, which say God is immutable, thus, *Thou*
 “ *art the same*, &c. and, *I am not changed*: But *Epicurus*’s
 “ Gods, being compounded of Atoms, and by Constitu-
 “ tion dissoluble, have enough to do, to shake off their
 “ corrupt Atoms. So the God of the *Stoics* being Body
 “ likewise, is sometimes all Intellect, when there is a Con-
 “ flagration, sometimes partly so, when there is an Or-
 “ dination, or Disposition. For they could not discover
 “ the natural Notion of God, as a Being always incor-
 “ ruptible, simple, uncompounded and indivisible. But
 “ that which descended to Men, was in the form of God,
 “ and in Love to Mankind, made himself little, empty’d
 “ himself, that he might be comprehended by them. There
 “ was no Change in him from good to bad, &c:” Again,
 sometime after: “ But if the immortal God, the Word,
 “ taking upon him a mortal Body, and an Humane Soul,
 “ seems to *Celsus* to be changed and transformed; let him
 “ learn that the Word remains in Essence the Word, and
 “ suffers none of those Things which the Soul and Body
 “ suffer; that condescending to him who can’t behold

* p. 169 & 170.

“ the Glory, and Splendor of his Godhead, he is, as it
 “ were, made Flesh, and speaks to us bodily.” Let any
 fair Man say whether these are the Words of one who
 out-went *Arius* in Impiety, and was his Master. Here
Origen clearly teaches that the Son of God is the immortal
 God, in his Substance immutable; and, as he is in
 the Form of God, together with the Father incorruptible,
 simple, uncompounded, and indivisible. ¹ A little
 after he thus begins his Answer to an Objection *Celsus*
 had made of the same kind: “ To this it may be reply’d,
 “ that in one Place is understood the Nature of the Di-
 “ vine Word, which is God, in the other the Soul of
 “ Jesus.” Here you see, the very Nature of the Word,
 or the Word by Nature expressly called God. Thus in
 a place of *Origen*, cited in the *Catena* of *Baltasar Corderius*,
² *The Son of God is called, the Maker of the Universe, who*
is essentially God the Word. What *Arian* would have said
 that the Son was in his very Essence and Substance God?
 This is the very Thing, which the *Nicene* Fathers de-
 termined against *Arius*; namely, that the Son of God
 was Consubstantial with God.

8. In the fifth Book, ³ giving a Reason why the Chri-
 stians worship the Son of God, not the Sun, Moon, or
 Stars, he answers thus: “ Therefore it is not reasonable
 “ that those, who are taught bravely to be above every
 “ Creature, to endeavour to obtain, or to meditate upon, the
 “ bright and never fading Wisdom, or that those who
 “ have obtained or received it, being the Effulgence of
 “ the eternal Light, should be struck with the sensible
 “ Light of the Sun, Moon and Stars to such a degree,
 “ as because of their sensible Light, to think themselves
 “ inferior to them; that those who have such a Light
 “ of Knowledge, the true Light, the Light of the Word,
 “ and the Light of Men, should adore them.” Here
Origen plainly teaches that the Wisdom, or Son of God
 is the true Light, the Light of the World, the Splendor
 of the eternal Light; which Christians should therefore

¹ P. 171.² In Joannis, cap. i. v. 1.³ P. 237.

worship, neglecting the Sun, Moon, and other heavenly Lights ; because they are taught in their Worship to soar above every *Creature*. Hence it is very clear that *Origen* did not dream with *Arius*, that the Son of God was to be ranged among the *Creatures*. A little after he still illustrates this Matter more : “ And as those who worship “ the Sun, Moon and Stars, because of their sensible heavenly Light, would not worship a Spark of Fire, or “ an earthly Lamp, as seeing the incomparable Excellence, “ of what they thought worthy to be Worship, above “ that of Sparks or Lamps ; so they, who perceive that “ God is Light ; they who apprehend that the Son of “ God is the true Light, which lighteth every Man that “ cometh into the World ; they who understand that “ this Light saith, *I am the Light of the World*, can’t rationally worship that small Spark of true Light, compared to God the Light, which is in the Sun, Moon “ and Stars. Nor do we dishonour these so great Works “ of God, or with *Anaxagoras* call the Sun a Ball of Fire, “ &c. and therefore speak of them in this manner, but “ we speak thus of them, perceiving the unspeakable Excellence of God the supreme, and of the Only-begotten, who excels every Thing else.” What can be more exprefs for the Divinity of the Son ? Here *Origen* clearly teaches, that the Son with the Father is that true Light, which is God ; and with which, if the very Light of the Sun be compared, it is only like a small Spark ; he expressly attributes to the Son as well as the Father, that excellent Divinity which is immensely above every Creature. He at last concludes from hence, that God the Father and his Only-begotten Son, setting aside the Sun, the Moon, and other heavenly Lights, are alone to be *honoured* by divine Worship (in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, as he elsewhere acknowledges). In the same Place a little after ¹ he says, that God the Father condescends to Men for their good, not *locally*, being immense, and not included in any Place, but *providentially* ; but that the Son

of God is always present with his Disciples, nor only when he lived among Men; and that although he vouchsafes of his infinite Love to Mankind to be with us locally in the Human Nature, yet that notwithstanding, he was every where present. Having laid down these Things, he reasons thus, for the Worship of God the Father only, and his Only-begotten Son, against the Adoration of Heavenly Lights: * “It is absurd, when he fills the Heaven and Earth, when he says, *Don't I fill Heaven and Earth, saith the Lord?* When he is with us, and near us, (for I believe him when he says: *I am a God at hand, and not afar off, saith the Lord*) to seek one to pray to, who is not every where, even the Sun, the Moon, or some of the Stars.”

9. In the sixth ¹ Book *Origen* very clearly confirms the Divine and uncreated Nature of the Son of God, saying, “Nor can any one thoroughly know him who is *|| increate*, and the first born of every created Nature, as the Father knows him, who begat him; nor can any one know the Father so as the animated Word knows him, his Wisdom and his Truth.” *Origen* as expressly pronounces against *Arius*, as if he had sate in the *Nicene Council*, that the Son of God is neither made, nor created (for *ἀγέννητος* denotes both); yea, farther he teaches, that the Father and Son are to each other comprehensible, but to all Creatures absolutely incomprehensible. *Sandius*, to ward off this blow, ² pretends the Place is interpolated, and depraved. “*Petavius* (says he) proves Book the first concerning the Trinity, Ch. 3. *n. 5* and 6. (or rather Ch. 4. *n. 6* and 7.) that the Place of *Origen*, where he calls the Son *ἀγέννητος* is interpolated, because *Epiphanius* blames *Origen* for calling the Son *γεννητὸν* in his Com-

* Dr. Whitby has not thought proper to consider these preceding Places relating to the Worship and Adoration of the Son, nor indeed any part of the Books against *Celsus*; but only insists upon some Passages out of the Book concerning Prayer, a Piece greatly suspected of Interpolation; and, as Dr. Cave says, containing some inexcusable false Doctrines, those especially, in which he glories.

¹ p. 287.

|| ἀγέννητος.

² De Script. Eccles. p. 35.

“ment upon the first Psalm.” But *Petavius* does not there say, much less doth he prove that Place interpolated; nor had the Censure signified any thing, though the *Jesuit* had said so. For the Manuscript and printed Copies all agree in the Reading, and it is consentaneous to the constant Doctrine of *Origen*’s Books against *Celsus*, in which (as has been shewn before) he plainly excepts him out of the Rank of Creatures. But as for the Objection *Petavius* makes from *Epiphanius*, *Sandius* can’t but know that it is clearly taken off by *Huetius*. “When *Origen* calls the Son *γεννηθέντα*, understand it thus, that he hath a Principle, a beginning of Existence. The Son is common with all created Beings, hath a Principle, an Original; but then the way of his Emanation or Procession from that Principle is quite different. The Son proceeds from it by eternal Generation, created Things by a temporary Creation. — And the Son may be called *ἀγέννητος*, as he hath not his Existence from any Thing, as a Creature; and *γεννητος*, as he hath his Existence from another, is begotten, and a Son. So *Origen*, who is accused of calling the Son *γεννηθέντα θεόν*, or made God — calls the Son also *ἀγεννητον*, or *unmade*.” * A little after *Huetius* adds: “When *Origen* said that the Son was *γεννητόν*, his meaning was that he had a Principle, &c. not as *Ferome* has expounded it, that he was made. He always took a Pleasure in putting the worst Sense upon *Origen*’s Words. So *Epiphanius* says, that he should approve the use of the Word *γεννητός* in others, but condemn it in *Origen*.” You may see more of this Matter in *Huetius*. I return to *Origen* against *Celsus*. In the same 6th² Book, when *Celsus* says, that God is not comprehensible by Reason, *Origen* answers thus: “I distinguish upon the word [*Reason*]. For if by it you mean the Reason we have, whether internal or uttered, we say, God is not to be comprehended by Reason; but if your Notion is of the Reason, which was in the Beginning, which was with God, and which was God, we say

* Lib. 2. p. 43. Origenian. * In this same Book, p. 287. p. 320.

“ God

“ God is Comprehensible by that Reason.” God can’t be comprehended but by God, that which is infinite by nothing less; hence it follows, that the Reason which can comprehend God, is God, as *Origen* and *St. John* in Terms affirm. Every Body knows how far this is from *Arianism*. *Arius* in his Book called *Thalia*,¹ said, “ It was impossible for the Son to find out the Father, as he “ is in himself; for the Son knows not his own Essence.” Parallel to which² we have these Words in the same Book: “ Who else can save, and bring to the supreme God the “ Soul of Man, but God the Word? He, who in the “ beginning was God, became Flesh for the sake of those, “ who are joined to Flesh, and are Flesh, that they might “ be capable of him, who, as he was the Word, with “ God, and God, were not able to behold him.” Again, quickly after *Origen* says, that the Son, as well as the Father, is Great and Incomprehensible, yea, he affirms, that the Father hath communicated his Greatness with the Only-begotten Son. This place I shall cite more commodiously hereafter.

10. You see, Reader, how *Origen* in these Books against *Celsus* (the most genuine, pure and incorrupt of his Writings, as all agree) confirms the true Divinity of the Son, very often and openly. Who would suspect now that these very Books should shew him inclined to *Arianism*? And yet³ *Petavius* objects the following Passage for that purpose: “ The Word, the Son of God is the immedi- “ ate Creator, and as it were the very Framers of the “ World; the Father of the Word, in that he ordered the “ Word, his Son, to make the World, is primary Creator.”⁴ How these Words are to be understood I have shewed before in the Chapter about *Irenaeus*, and thither I refer the Reader. Surely that all things were created by the Father as chief and commanding, and by the Son as executing the Will and Command of the Father, is so far from *Arianism*, as that the Catholic *Post-Nicene* Doctors,

¹ Vol. 2. Tom. 1. Athan. p. 729.

² *Origen*, lib. 6. p. 322.

³ *De Trin.* lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 5.

⁴ p. 317.

the sharpest Opposers of that Heresy, have not been afraid to affirm it every where in their Writings, as in the Place abovesaid I hav'd proved from *Petavius*. To the Authors there cited I have a mind to add one, namely *Hilary* upon the Words, *Let us make Man after our Image, &c.* Thus he speaks: "By the Words, *Let us make Man*, " is the Original from whence the *Word* took his beginning; but in that where it is said, *God made Man* " after the Image of God, he is signified, by whom the " Work was perfected." And a little after: " In that " it is said, *Let us make, &c.* The Command, and the " Fact in Obedience to it, are set upon the same Level." And again a little after, he saith of the Wisdom, or Son of God rejoicing with his Father in the Works of the Creation: " The Wisdom hath taught us the Cause of " his Joy; he rejoiced in the Joy of the Father, who " rejoiced in the Perfection of the World, and in the " Sons of Men. For it is written: *And God saw that* " *they were good.* He rejoices that his Works made by " him at the Command of the Father, pleased him." Which last Words of *Hilary* fully express the Sense of that Place of *Origen* which has fallen under *Petavius's* Censure. Besides, it is observable, that *Origen*, lest the Expression should seem harsh, has qualified it with an ὡς-ἦν, i. e. as it were. The Son, says he, is the immediate Creator, who is, as it were, the very Framers of the World. By which Caution no doubt, he intended to obviate their Error, who will not own the individed Power, or Energy of the Father, and Son in the same Work of the Creation. But whither will this saucy Confidence carry these Scholastic Writers in censuring the Fathers? If indeed he is to be censured, as an *Arian* who said the Father, as Father, is the primary Creator of the World, who made all things by his Son; how will the Apostle escape this Charge, who, speaking of the Parts (if I may so say) of the Father and Son in the Creation and Renovation

‡ In Lib. 4. de Trin. p. 39 & 40.

of all Things says, *1 To us * there is one God the Father, from whom are all Things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him.* For that *ἐξ ἑ*, from whom, manifestly denotes the primary Cause. Whence Beza upon the Place, *When the Father is distinguish'd from the Son, he is made his Principle.* All these things are to be referred to that Subordination of the Son, by which he is subjected to the Father as his Author (I again use the very Words of Hilary) and of which I shall treat in the 4th Section. Nay, in the Nicene Creed it self we are commanded to believe, first, in *one God the Father Almighty, Creator of all Things, visible and invisible*; and then in *one Lord Jesus Christ, &c. by whom all Things were made.* The Nicene Fathers, I suppose, if they had not met in an Oecumenical Council, which can't be contradicted, would hardly have escap'd the Jesuit Petavius's severe Censure for such Words. To sum up the whole in a few Words, He that said that God the Father, as the Fountain of the Divinity, and the Spring of all Divine Operations, created the Word of himself by his Son, and therefore was the primary Maker of it, is not to be accused of *Arianism*, unless the very sacred Writers themselves, and all the antient Authors of the Church are guilty likewise: But this is *Arianism*, to teach that the Father made all Things by the Word, as by an Instrument without himself, or as by some Power created before all other Things, and different from his Essence; an Impiety Origen never so much as dream'd of, as is plain from what has been said before.

1 1 Ep. Cor. viii. 6.

** Such Passages as these in our Learned Prelate are not to be understood as begging the Question. Petavius made it his Business to write up the Scholastic Notion, the Romish Doctrine, and prefer it before the best and almost all Antiquity. Our Author by these Strictures upon Petavius shews his Admirers, that he might as well, and upon the same Grounds, have condemned the Scriptures. Who can forbear a Reflection upon the present Sett of Arians, who condemn the Bishop's Doctrine as Popish and Scholastic, though he opposed both; and caress Petavius's Writings, though he professedly defended both!*

11. But *Huetius* ¹ animadvertes upon some other Places in the Books against *Celsus*, the chief of which we will examine. First, he cites some Words as not to be solved, thus; ² “ If any shall be distracted by these Things, fearing that we are gone over to those, who deny two Substances, let him understand what is written. *They were all of one Heart, and of one Mind*, and then consider that other Scripture: *My Father and I are one.*” And then again: “ We worship the Father of Truth, and the Son, the Truth, being in Substance two Things, but in Unanimity, Symphony, and Identity of Will one.” Upon these Places the learned Man notes: *He says the Father, and Son are two ὑποστάσις, one in Consent and Agreement. But ὑπόστασις was antiently used for ὁσία or Essence, both by Heathens and Christians. Jerome in the 57th Epistle to Damasus says, All the Schools of secular Learning interpret ὑπόστασις by ὁσία. So the Nicene and Sardican Fathers took it. So it is probable Origen understood it also.* I answer, (1.) The Words ὑπόστασις and ὁσία were used variously in antient Times, at least by the Christians. Sometimes ὑπόστασις was used for what we call ὁσία, namely, Essence; sometimes on the other hand ὁσία was used for what we call ὑπόστασις, namely, Person; and sometimes even the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers called that ὑπόστασις, which we now call Person, or Substance. *Huetius* confesses, nay, he contends for it, that ὑπόστασις is sometimes used by the Antients for what we call ὁσία, namely, Essence. Although (to confess the Truth ingenuously) I don’t remember that I ever read the Word so used by any Catholic Writer upon the Trinity, either before, or of some time after the *Nicene* Council. But it is certain the Word ὁσία has been sometimes used by them for what we call ὑπόστασις, namely, Person. So *Picinius*, the Martyr and Presbyter, Master to *Pamphilus* the Martyr, although he held the Catholic Notion of Father and Son, said, that the Father and Son were two ὁσίας and οὐσίαι, meaning by those Words ὑπόστασις, or, Person, ³ as *Photius* says, is plain from

¹ Origenian, Lib. 2. p. 32.

² p. 386.

³ Phot.Cod. 119.

the Context. So I have observed, that the word *οὐσία*, of a larger Signification than *ουσία*, is used by *Clemens Alexandrinus*. And *Petavius* ¹ shews that it is taken in the same Sense by *Gregory Nyssen*, *Epiphanius*, and even *Athanasius* himself. Lastly, which is more to our purpose, it is plain from many Examples, that the word *υὑστασις* has been sometimes used by the Antient, and even the *Ante-Nicene* Doctors of the Church, for a Subsistence, some one Thing subsisting of it self, which in Intellectuals, is the same as a Person. ² Thus *Tertullian*, when he intended to assert the Subsistence of the Son against those, who deny that he is a distinct Person from the Father, affirms that the Son of God is a *Substance*, and a *substantive Thing*. “Do you grant then, say you, that the Word is a Subsistence made up of the Spirit and the Wisdom? Yes. Now you would not have him properly subsist, have any Thing substantive, so that there may be a certain Person or Thing, and so he who is second from God may make two, Father and Son, God and Word. For, you’ll say, what is the Word, but a Voice and Sound of the Mouth, and (as the Grammarians say) the Air beaten and intelligible to the Ear? What is it, but a certain, void, empty, incorporeal Thing? But, I say, that nothing void and empty can proceed from God, as not being produced of that which is void and empty; nor can want Substance, which proceeds from so great a Substance.” Again, treating of Father and Son, he speaks thus: “God of God, as a Thing subsisting, will not be *the very God*; but thus far God, as of the Substance of the very God, who is also a Thing subsisting, &c.” A little after ³ he denies, that Wisdom and Providence are Substantives, or Subsistences, *i. e.* *υὑστασις*. This Imitator of the *Greeks* seems to have taken this way of speaking from the *Greek* Fathers, rendring the *Greek* Word *υὑστασις*, by the *Latin* *Substantia* and *res Substantiva*: For otherwise the *Latins* in *Tertullian*’s time had a Word of their own to express a Subsistence in the Divine Essence, namely, *Persona*, which is also sometimes used by

¹ De Trin. Lib. 4. cap. 1. n. 2 & 3. ² Tertull. p. 503. ³ p. 515.

Tertullian in the same Book. ¹ *Hippolytus* next to *Tertullian*, and older than *Origen*, says in the place afore-cited, that the Humane Nature in Christ did not subsist of it self, but had ὑπόστασιν in the Word, *subsisted in the Word*. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *Origen*'s Scholar, in his Answer to *Paulus Samosatenus*'s fourth Section, thus speaks of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity: *The two Hypostases are inseparable, and the subsistent Spirit of the Father which is in the Son*. From this place, the Sense of his Name's sake and Contemporary *Dionysius Romanus*, may be well explained. He in the Epistle against the *Sabellians*, which is in *Athanasius*,² after he had refuted them, blames those also, who cut the Deity into three Hypostases, *divided one from another*.³ *Petavius* indeed would have the word ὑπόστασις to be used in a more general Signification for *essence*, induced to it, I suppose, by this, that *Dionysius* professes his Dissent from them, who divided the Deity into three Hypostases. But this is nothing. For *Dionysius* doth not simply blame those against whom he disputes, for making three Hypostases, but for making three divided Hypostases. This he more fully expresses a little after, when he says that these same Heretics had divided the Deity into three Hypostases, foreign to and altogether separate from one another. *Petavius* therefore rendered it very ill, in these Words [*distinctas Personas*]. Against these Heretics he afterwards determines, that the Divine Word is united to the God of all; and that the Holy Spirit does closely abide in, and inhabit⁴ God, *i. e.* that the three Divine Hypostases by an inexplicable Comprehension, or Involution, are intimately joined together, and do so penetrate (as it were) one another, that they can't be separated. Of this more hereafter. See the place cited at large in the 11th Chapter of this Section. Therefore when *Dionysius Romanus* denies that there are three divided, separate Hypostases, he plainly means the same with the other *Dionysius*, when he says that the Father and Son are two Hypostases, not

¹ This Section, ch. 8. n. 5.

prim. ³ Lib. 4. de Trin. cap. 1. §. 5.

² p. 231. Athan. Vol. 1. Tom. ⁴ Ἐνστατᾶσαι, and intimately converse with.

separate; and that the Holy Spirit is also an Hypostasis subsisting in the Son, and therefore neither disjoined from the Father, nor the Son. Both of them did alike own a Distinction of Persons in the Divinity. Both of them did alike deny a Division or Separation of these Persons. Another Passage of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* is cited from St. *Basil*¹, where he brings in *Dionysius*, in the midst of his Apology against the *Arians*, thus disputing: *If they say that, because there are three Hypostases, they are divided, or separate; there are three, whether they will or not, or else let them utterly take away the Divine Trinity.* From which Words we may fairly gather that, with the Catholics of *Dionysius's* time, it was ratified and confirmed, that there were in the Divinity three Persons; that the *Sabellians* hence argued that these three Persons were divided, not being able to conceive three distinct Persons subsisting in the Divine Essence without Division. But this Consequence the *Dionysii* in the places above-cited reject. To proceed. Contemporary with the *Dionysii* were the six Bishops, who wrote an Epistle from the Synod at *Antioch* to *Paulus Samosatenus*, in which against *Paulus* and *Sabellius*, they deny that the Son of God is not a Person, but the mere Wisdom or Knowledge of the Father.² And in the same place affirm, that the Son of God is the living, and subsisting Power of the Father. Who can doubt that these six Bishops thought the Son a distinct Hypostasis from the Father; especially when *Dionysius Alexandrinus* of the same Age used *ὑπόστασις* and *ἐννοία* as Terms equivalent? *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, seems to have taken the Word in the same Sense, whilst he writes thus upon the Words of St. *John*:³ “He discovered his [the Son’s] peculiar or proper Hypostases, when he said; *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.*” And if we may rather believe the great *Basil* than the modern Jesuit *Petavius*, the *Nicene* Fathers, from the antient Custom of the Church, used it in the same Sense, when they anathe-

¹ De Spir. Sancto, c. 29.
Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 11.

² Bibl. Patr. Tom. 11.

³ Theod.

matized those, who should say that the Son was of another Hypostasis or Substance from the Father. For *Basil*¹ reporting that *Marcellus Ancyranus*, and other Favourites of the *Sabellian* Heresy, screened themselves under those Words of the *Nicene* Council, denies that *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία* are used as Terms equivalent by the Fathers. Thus he proves it: "If these Words had conveyed one and the same Notion, what Occasion for them both? But it is plain that * when some denied him to be of the Substance of the Father, and others said that he was not of his Substance, but of another Hypostasis, they rejected both as different from the Sense of the Church." I've a mind here to examine *Petavius's* Reasons against this Opinion of *Basil's*. First, says he, it is very plain that the Fathers added that Clause against the *Arian* Doctrine only. I might ask *Petavius*, why he says so? For indeed it is very plain, that though they chiefly intended to oppose *Arianism* in that Creed, they toucht upon some other Heresies. So when they define that all Things were made by the Son, they did not affect the *Arians*, who never denied it, but the *Ebionites*, the *Artemonites*, *Samosatenians*, and others of the same Stamp. But grant that Clause was against *Arianism* only (which I think very true), what then? The *Arians*, says² *Petavius*, did not teach that the Son had his beginning from any other Person than the Father. I answer, that none of the *Arians* taught that the Son had his beginning from any other Substance than the Father's, strictly speaking. But as all the *Arians* denied the Son to be begotten of the Substance of the Father, so some denied that he was any way begotten of the Father himself, of the Hypostasis of the Father. There were chiefly two Sects of the *Arians*. Some indeed confessed that the Son was begotten of the very Hypostasis of the Father in a peculiar manner, not made of nothing, as other Creatures; but yet they denied that the Son was begotten of the Sub-

¹ Ep. 78.

* Taking *οὐσία* for the same as *ὑπόστασις*, and concluding from this false Notion, that because he was not the same *ὑπόστασις*, therefore he was not the same *οὐσία*.

² Petav. de Trin. lib. 4.

c. 2. n. 6.

stance of the Father, thinking him to be a certain Power, or Virtue of the Father's, not an Efflux of his Substance. Others, lest they should confess that the Son was in a peculiar manner begotten of the Father, roundly pronounced that he was made of nothing, like the other Creatures. The former were called *Semi-Arians*; their Opinion ¹ *Petravius* has well and briefly explained to us from their Confession in ² *Epiphanius*. These are his Words: "Herein they say many Things very like the Catholic Doctrine, first of all they deny that the Son is a Creature, because he is a true Son, produced by a real, not a figurative Generation, by which all created Things are said to be begotten of God; but that he is truly a Father, whom they confess to have begotten a Son of himself, and that before all Thought, Reason, Time, and Ages. These are in Appearance plausible Things, and nearly approach to Catholicism: But they want that which is the Sum and Substance of the Faith: They don't confess that the Son is begotten by the Father of his own Substance, but of the Likeness of the Father, by a genitil Efficiency. They talk of several Actions of the Father's, one creating, another generating, which produces the Son. Then they determine that there is not the same Substance in both, but two Substances like one another." The *Nicene* Fathers therefore affect both these Factions in these Words, [*of another Hypostasis, or Substance*], namely those, who denied the Son to be begotten of the Person of the Father, any way whatsoever, and said that he was made of nothing; and also those, who confessed him to be begotten after a peculiar manner of the Father, but yet denied him to be begotten of his Substance, and consequently Consubstantial with the Father. To put an end to all Controversy in this Point, the Confession of the *Arians* offered to the Emperor *Constans* by *Maris*, *Theodorus* and *Marcus*, and recited by *Athanasius*, hath ³ these Words in the end of it: "But for those who say that

¹ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 10. n. 7. ² Hæres. 73. n. 2. ³ Athan. Vol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 737 & 738, &c. 742.

“ the Son is of nothing, or of another Hypostasis, and
 “ not of God, and that there was a time when he was
 “ not ; such the Catholic Church does not own.” We
 have the same in the Confession of *Sirmium*, and in that by
Eudoxius, *Martyrius*, and others, which was sent into *Italy*.
 You see here that those *Arians* denied that the Son was
 created, or made of nothing ; that they confessed that the
 Son was of the Hypostasis of God the Father, born of ve-
 ry God ; when, notwithstanding, it is very certain that
 these Heretics never did, nor ever would confess that the
 Son was begotten of the *ὕστα*, the Substance of the Father.
 Therefore *Basil* hath truly and learnedly distinguish’d the
 Words *ὑπόστασις* and *ὕστα* in the *Nicene* Creed, and *Petavius*
 the Jesuit has rashly found fault with his Observations.
 What *Petavius* observes upon *Basil*’s Reason, namely, that
 the *Nicene* Fathers would not have used both the Words
 in so short a Creed, if they had both signified the same
 Thing, is easily refuted. “ If *Basil*’s Reason (saith he)
 “ be good, the Fathers are to be blamed, who in the same
 “ Creed say that they damn those, who think there was a
 “ time when the Son was not, and immediately add what
 “ signifies the very same, he was not before he was born,
 “ and that he was made of nothing.” But I deny that
 the Words, *He was not before he was born*, do signify the
 same, as, *There was a time when he was not*. For the for-
 mer says indefinitely, he had a beginning ; the later says
 when he had it, points out the time. There is a latent
 Sense in the later, which has even escaped *Petavius*, but
 what it is we shall explain in a more commodious place.¹
 Nor is it true that the same Thing is repeated in those
 Words, *He was made of nothing*. There were some of the
Arians (as *Petavius* has elsewhere observed) afterwards called
Psathyrians, who as they said that the Father always existed,
 also said, that the Son was always created by him ; for to
 beget with God is the same as to create. They did not
 say, that there was a time, when the Son was not ; but
 they said, that the Son was made of nothing. Be-

¹ Sect. 3. ch. 9. n. 2.

fides, ¹ *Gelasius Cyzicenus* introduces *Hofius*, by the Decree and Command of the whole Synod of *Nice*, answering and proclaiming a *Trinity of Hypostases*; the same which the Fathers afterwards professed by *Leontius*². Hence *Anastasius*³ *Sinaita* wrote, that the *Nicene* Fathers defined three Hypostases, or Persons, in the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity. *Petavius* despised these Authorities, relying forsooth upon the Arguments, by which he vainly boasts that he has confuted *Basil*. Surely *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* (who was at the Synod of *Nice*, and than whom no Man better understood the antient Ecclesiastical Use of the word ὑπόστασις) in his Letter to *Eustathius Antiochenus* (according to *Socrates*⁴) hath confessed the Son of God to be a proper Hypostasis and Subsistence, and that there is one God in three Hypostases. And in this Sense (I suppose) the Word had continued to have been used, had not *Arians* abused it for the Defence of their Heresy, by taking it in a more general Sense for Nature, or Substance, and teaching that the Father and Son are two Hypostases, i. e. two Natures, or Substances distinct and separate from each other. For against them the *Sardican* Fathers affirmed, that the Hypostasis of the Father and Son is one. The Words of the *Sardican* Fathers about this Matter, in their Synodical Epistle, ⁵ are worth transcribing: “ The Heretical Clan con-
 “ tend, that the Hypostases of the Father, the Son, and
 “ the Holy Ghost are different and separate. But we
 “ have received, were taught, and now hold this Catho-
 “ lic and Apostolical Tradition, Faith and Confession,
 “ that the Hypostasis (that is, according to the Heretics,
 “ the Substance) of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is
 “ one.” Here the Fathers expressly tell us, that they have said that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are only in that Sense one *Hypostasis*, in which the Heretics took *Hypostasis* for *Substance*; hereby signifying, that they were

¹ In actis Conc. Nic. p. 2. cap. 12. ² Ibid. cap. 21. ³ Hodegus, c. 21. ⁴ Eccl. H. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 48. ⁵ Theod. E. H. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 81. Dr. Grabe says in the Appendix to the Epistle, which was added by some against the Opinion of the rest. See Athanasius's Synodical Epistle to the Antiochians.

not ignorant of another received Sense of this Word among the antient Catholic Doctors, (namely, that in which it is used for Person, or Substance), and would willingly embrace and confess, according to that Acceptation, that there are three Persons or Subsistences in the Divinity. Hence notwithstanding arose that sad Difference between the Church of the *East* and *West*, concerning one or three Hypostases, whilst some chose to speak as the Fathers of the *Sardican* Council had done, and others retained the antient Use and Signification of the Word. This Use of the Word, the first Council of *Constantinople* ¹ confirmed also by their Authority. But at last the *Arians* decreed to throw both *ὑπόστασις* and *ὑσία* out of their Creeds. For in the Confession written at *Constantinople* by *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, &c. ² who being condemned by the Decree of the Synod of *Seleucia*, fled to the Emperor; near the end of it they thus define: "It hath seemed good to us to abolish the word *ὑσία*, which the Fathers used incautiously, as unknown to the common People, and what has given Offence, because not Scriptural. Nor ought the Word *ὑπόστασις* to be used concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but we say, that the Son is like the Father." By this Decree the *Arians* quite rescinded all their former Confessions, in which they had said, that the Son was of the Hypostasis of the Father, though not of his Substance.* Having premised this long but useful Dissertation in general concerning the antient Ecclesiastical Use of the Words *ὑσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, I now return to *Origen*. It is certain that the word *ὑπόστασις* is in very many places in him used for a Subsistence, i. e. for something singular and individual, subsisting by it self, which in Intellectuals is the same as we now call a Person. Nay, I don't remember it used otherwise by him any where, where he speaks of the Trinity. Upon which Account that great Man *H. Grotius*

¹ Theod. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 210. ² Athan. Vol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 722 & 747. This only relates to *ὑσία*, and is not mentioned by Bishop Bull. * It is scarce credible how often Dr. Whitby has erred for want of attending to these precedent Observations upon *ὑσία* and *ὑπόστασις*.

says in his Notes upon *John* i. 2. and Epistle to the *Heb.* i. v. 3. that Signification of *ὑπόστασις* was first brought by *Origen* into the Use of the Church from the *Platonics* (which notwithstanding I do not think true). As for the place noted by *Huetius*, nothing is more manifest than that *Origen* there affirms, the Father and Son to be two in Hypostasis, in the same Sense, in which the Heretics, he blames, denied it. Now, who were these Heretics? Without doubt the *Noetians*, &c. who taught that there was only one Person in the Godhead, and acknowledged only one Hypostasis, i. e. Person in the Divinity. What *Huetius* objects besides, that *Origen*, when he said that the Father and Son were one in Concord * and Consent, seemed to reject all other Unity, is of very little Moment. For he, who only expresses an Union of Consent betwixt the Father and Son in some places, is not therefore to be thought to deny or not know every other Union. Again, *Origen* in very many other places, if you mind what is signified by the Word, acknowledged the Father and Son to be Consubstantial; and often also in Terms (as they say) owned the Consubstantiality, as *Pamphilus* cites him, and *Ruffinus* testifies. I shall shew the same of *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity among the Works of *Tertullian*, who is noted by *Huetius* for the like way of speaking. Moreover *Origen* speaking upon St. *John* * concerning the *Valentinians* and other Heretics of the same kind, says, “That they use this place, *My Heart* “*endited a good Word*, supposing the Son of God, which “the Father brought forth, to be as it were, Syllabical, “and accordingly (if we ask them the Question exactly) “don’t allow him an Hypostasis, nor explain his Essence.” Here *Huetius* confesses, that *ὑπόστασις* is distinguish’d from *ἰσσία*; but says, that it is not taken for Person, but Subistence. But where the Antients speak of the Trinity,

* Both *Origen* and *Novatian* are cited very partially by Dr. Clarke and his second: For both of them introduce these two Antients, as tho’ they believed no other Unity but that of Consent, and are very pompous in their Citations to this purpose also from others. * *Torn.* i. in *Joannem*.

what is the difference, pray, between Person and Subsistence? They, as *Petavius*¹ hath well observed, have taken Subsistence for what is called a Concrete, and confounded it with Person. Let then *ὑπόστασις* in the place of *Origen*, which *Huetius* censures, be taken for Subsistence, so as that the Father and Son are said to be two in Subsistence, and see what Catholic will blame it? Nay, is not he an Heretic, who denies it? But *Huetius* rises higher in his Accusation: * “Why should we endeavour a Defence
 “ of *Origen*, when he betrays his own Cause, where opposing a certain Person, who was of Opinion that the
 “ Holy Ghost had no other proper *ὑπόστασις*, besides the Father and the Son; after some time adds, But we being
 “ persuaded that there are three Hypostases, Father, Son,
 “ and Holy Spirit, &c. in which he signifies his Dissent
 “ from him, who only allows one *ὑπόστασις* in the Trinity,
 “ and his Consent to three Hypostases, i. e. three *ὑποστάσεις*.
 “ For if the word *ὑπόστασις* signified *ἰδιότητα*, i. e. Persons, he would never have expressed his Dissent from
 “ him, who was for a Trinity of one *ὑπόστασις* or Substance.”
 But, I say, nothing else can be gathered from this place, than that *Origen*’s Adversary by *ὑπόστασις* understood *ὑπόστασις*, as I’ve shewn many even of the Catholics did. The Adversary, against whom *Origen* there disputes, was in Truth a *Noetian*, who said that the Spirit did not at all differ from the Father and the Son, but was *the same with the Father*, as *Origen* in the same place saith. Against him *Origen* shews in that place, that without Controversy, *Matt. xii. 32.* there is a declared Distinction of the Spirit from the Son, and thence concludes, that the Holy Spirit, as also the Son are personally different from the Father. Then he adds, that both he, and other Catholics believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be three Hypostases. *Hypostasis* does indeed almost always in *Origen* signify a Subsistence in the Abstract, or a singular, or individual subsisting of it self, which (as I have often said) in Intel-

¹ De Trin. lib. 4. c. 3. n. 6.

* I suppose we must translate *ὑπόστασις* for *Huetius* by *Substance*, otherwise his Argument will be very lame indeed.

lectuals is a Person. But why do we detain the Reader with these Circumstances? There is a place in the *Greek Commentaries of Origen* put out by *Huetius*¹, which clearly confirms my Interpretation of *Origen's* Sense. For there *Origen* blames some (namely, the *Noetians*) who thought it plain, from certain Scriptures wrongly interpreted, "That the Son did not numerically differ from the Father, but that both of them being one, not only in Substance, but in Subject, and different in certain Notions, not in *Hypostasis*, were called Father and Son." To whom he thus Answers: *We must tell them first, that the Son is different from the Father, and that it is necessary the Son be the Son of a Father, and the Father the Father of a Son.* Here *ὁὕτως* and *ἕως* are clearly and plainly distinguish'd, as they are by us at this Day; and the Opinion of *Origen*, and other Catholics accurately discriminated from *Noetianism*. The Catholics taught, that the Father and Son were one in Substance, Consubstantial; but in Subsistence, or Subject, two: On the other hand the Heretics contended, that the Father and Son were not only in Substance, but also in Subsistence one, and only distinguish'd according to certain Notions and Conceptions of ours, and so called in one respect Father, and in another Son. Nothing is more manifest than this. That I have discoursed more largely perhaps than was requisite upon the antient Ecclesiastical Use of the word *ὁὕτως* in the Divinity, will not, I hope, be uneasy to the prudent Reader, who has considered, how often not only the ordinary Divines, but Men of the best Learning have been grossly mistaken about it.

12. Another Objection of *Huetius* is taken from these Words of *Origen* against *Celsus*. "Grant that there are some (of the vulgar Believers, apt to fall into different Sentiments) who suppose that our Saviour is God over all; ² we don't think him so, being persuaded by him that said, *My Father that sent me is greater than*

¹ Tom. 12. in Joannem p. 186. ² Orig. p. 387.

“ I.” *Huetius* ¹ notes upon these Words: *Some affirmed that Christ was God of all Things, and that truly, and orthodoxly. That belongs indeed to his Divine, not his Humane Nature. On the contrary, Origen denies that our Saviour is God of all Things, which he proves from this, that he is less than the Father, who is God of all Things. He therefore takes from the Divine Nature of Christ, the Supreme God-head over all Things, and gives it to the Father, and therefore determines, that the Father is greater than the Son in Dignity, that God is greater than God, not God than Man. But First, the very learned Huetius (with his leave) is very greatly mistaken, in that he thinks those, whom Origen blames, to be Orthodox in their Affirmation, that the Son is God of all Things. For Origen expressly speaks of a few amongst the Christians, who differed from the rest, from a numerous Multitude of Believers, from the Catholic Church, in what they affirmed. Moreover, if you read the Context in Origen, you’ll find Celsus taking his Objection from Heathen Fables. For who were those who were Heterodox, and differed from the generality of Christians in this Point? The Heretics, I suppose, who in Origen’s Time were called *Noetians*, who taught that the Son was the very Father, who by way of Distinction was called by the Catholics of that Age, the God over all. *Justin* ² censures the impious Madness of this kind of Heretics, then known by another Name, in Words not unlike these: *Those who say the Son is the Father plainly appear, neither to know the Father, nor that the Father of all Things hath a Son; who being the first-born Word of God, is God.* Here he distinguishes the Son from the Father of all Things, and denies against the Heretics, that he is God the Father; he acknowledges that the Son, as truly is God, as the Father, as being begotten of the Father. Perhaps also *Origen*, in the Place cited, corrects the *Marcionites*, and other such Monsters, who taught that our Saviour was not the Son of that God, who made the World, but his Lord, higher than him,*

¹ Orig. Lib. 2. p. 34.

² Justin p. 96.

and therefore God of all Things. It is manifest that these Things are handled in the Context. *Secondly*, What *Origen* says, and *Huetius* censures in the Place cited, that the Son, as God, God of God, is less than the Father, is plainly Catholic, and defended by those *Post-Nicene* Fathers, who the most sharply opposed *Arianism*, as I shall shew hereafter, *Section 4*. There I will also very clearly prove, that *Origen* in his Books against *Celsus* has determined, that God the Father is greater than the Son, upon some special Cause, but yet has own'd that the Father and Son are absolutely equal in Nature.

13. *Thirdly*, *Huetius* blames these Words: "Our Lord and Saviour hearing a certain Person say to him, *Good Master*, refers the Person, who spoke to his Father, and says: *Why callest thou me Good? There is none Good but one, God the Father*. If now the Son of the Father's Love, as being the Image of his Goodness spoke well in this; how much more rationally might the Son say, to those that worship him, *Why dost thou worship me, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God*." Upon which the *Learned* ² Man makes this note: *He takes from Christ that Goodness, which belongs to God the Father, not only as he is Man, but as he is the Image of the Goodness of God, i. e. God*. As though Christ, even as Man, was not in a singular manner, the Image of the Goodness of God. Who can believe *Origen* so stupid, as not to understand this Text, with respect to the *Oeconomy* in the Humane Nature? Nay, *Origen* doth in the same Place tell us, that he brings in Christ thus speaking, as an Example, which he (*Christ*) who conversed among Men, intended to give them. But if we should grant that *Origen* there speaks of Christ, as God, he is indeed rightly called the Image of the Father's Goodness, *i. e.* the perfect and adequate Image; and yet as he is the Image of the Father, not the Father himself, *i. e.* as he hath his Goodness, and all the other divine Attributes from the Paternal Fountain, and possesses the Deity (as the

² p. 238.

* Orig. Lib. 2. p. 39.

School-men speak) in *signo secundo originis*, we may with no less Reason give Precedency to the Father upon that Account. What *Huetius* gathers from those Words, namely, that *Origen* deny'd Christ that Goodness which he attributed to the Father, and thought, (as *Huetius* says a little after), that the Son was only a Particle, a certain imperfect Breathing of the Divine Goodness, is most certainly very far from *Origen's* meaning, if that is to be met with, in his Books against *Celsus*. When I have before shewn that *Origen* clearly taught that the Son, as well as the Father, is true God, uncreate, immortal, immutable, impassible, immense, omnipresent, infinitely blessed, and perfect; how should it be that in the same Book he should deny him that Goodness, which he attributes to the Father? We have heard *Origen*, saying, that the Son of God is Reason, Wisdom, Truth it self, or the most perfect Reason, &c. ¹ Why may he not be also said to be the most perfect Goodness, not only a Particle, or imperfect Breathing of a superior Goodness? For there is the same Ratio or Proportion in all the Divine Attributes. So Book 5, against *Celsus*, from which this Accusation of *Origen* is raised, he again calls the Son, Reason, Wisdom, and Justice it self. Whosoever desires a clear Comment upon these Words, may find it in the great *Athanasius* ² who writes thus concerning the Son of God: "He is the Power, the Wisdom, the Reason of
 " the Father, not these by Participation, or Result from
 " without, as those who partake of him, are made wise,
 " or powerful, or rational through him. But he is the
 " very Wisdom, the very Reason, the very proper Power
 " of the Father, the very Light, Truth, Justice, and Vir-
 " tue, the Character, Effulgence, and Image; to say all in
 " short, the omniperfect Fruit of the Father, the only Son,
 " and unchangeable Image of the Father."

14. I still follow *Huetius*, ³ who after he has profess'd that he will go to the very bottom of *Origen's* Doctrine,

¹ p. 258.
² p. 44.

³ Athan. Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 46.

³ Orig. Lib.

makes this Note ; --- That *Origen* believed the Son to flow from the Father, as Light from the Sun, and to be of the same Substance with the Father, as Light is of the same Substance with the Sun ; and again, that he separated the Son from the Substance and Divinity of the Father, because as Light proceeds from the Sun, by Efflu-
vium, it may be said to be distinct and separate from it ; further, that the Son is inferior to the Father, because the Sun is more noble, and in Dignity superior to the Light.--- Before also he had gathered, ¹ from the same Simile used by *Origen*, That the Trinity was by him cut into Parts, and distinguished by certain Degrees of Essence and Divinity. But this (with all respect to the worthy Person) is far from going to the Bottom ; it is rather to suspect or pry after such Things as *Origen* never dreamt of. I confess the Generation of the Son from the Father is illustrated by *Origen* even in his Books against *Celsus*, by the Similitude of a Ray, or the Splendor which is projected from the Sun, or any other light Body. But what then ? Have not all the Catholic Fathers, *Ante* and *Post-Nicene*, used the same Simile ? Have not the *Nicene* Fathers themselves, and that in their Creed, said that God the Son, is begotten of God the Father, as Light of Light. † And what will become of the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, who was not afraid to call the Son of God, the Effulgence of the Father's Glory ? *Huetius* undoubtedly forces two Consequences upon *Origen*, which are not his. First, That the Son is divided and separated from the Father, as a Part from the whole, and therefore that the Essence of God, is cut into Parts. But who can

¹ P. 37. † The Arians may, perhaps, glory in such Expressions as these, concluding that our learned Author gives them up this, and many other Texts: But they are to consider how this is spoken. The Author against whom the Bishop is disputing was an Enemy to Arianism, and very free in charging *Origen*, and other of the Antients, with favouring that Heresy. The Bishop thought otherwise of them, and therefore advises to be cautious in thus accusing them ; for as much as they in these censured Expressions, say no more than what we find in the Scriptures, which are not to be suspected of either Error, or Heresy,

believe that the learned *Origen* could think of such insipid Blasphemy? How often does he expressly reject it in his Writings! So (to omit very many other Places) in a *Passage cited entire* before, he laughs at the *Epicureans* and *Stoics*, because they could not discover the physical Notion of God, as altogether incorruptible, simple, uncompounded and indivisible. A little after he adds, that the Son of God, is in the Form of God, subsists in the divine Essence, and therefore is immutable, as the Father. But nothing can be more expressly repugnant to this Comment, than the Words of *Origen*, which *Pamphilus*¹ cites, from the second Book upon *John*. “Therefore the Only-begotten Son, our Saviour, is only begotten of the Father by Nature, and not a Son by Adoption; and he is born of the Mind of the Father, as the Will is of the Mind. For the divine Nature of the unbegotten Father is not divisible, that we should think that the Son is begotten of him by Division, or Diminution of his Substance.” See the end of the 19th Paragraph of this Chapter. As for the other Consequence, that *Origen* makes the Son inferior to the Father, I will evidently shew hereafter, in its proper Place, that *Origen* never made the Son unequal in Essence, but only in respect to his Original, as the Father is the Author and Principle of the Son. In a Word, *Origen* and the other Catholic Fathers, when they used this Simile of the Sun and his Ray, Light and Splendor, never intended more than this. *First*, That the Father is the Fountain of the Divinity, as the Son is the Fountain of the Light projected from it. *Secondly*, That the Son is of the same Nature and Essence, as the Father, being begotten of the very Essence of the Father, as Light of Light. *Thirdly*, That the Son does no more exist separate from the Father, than a Ray is separated from the Sun, and Splendor from Light. *Fourthly*, That the Son is begotten of the Father, without any Alteration, or Diminution of the divine Essence. This Similitude does indeed wonderfully help these our Con-

¹ In Apologia.

ceptions about the adorable Generation of the Son of God; for which Reason the *Nicene* Fathers used it in their Creed.

15. Now remains the fifth and last Objection against *Origen*, from his Books against *Celsus*. *Huetius* charges him with teaching, That the Father is to be worshipped with greater Reverence than the Son. He proves this to be the genuine Doctrine of *Origen*, from two Places especially. *In the one* he thus disputes: ¹ “ All Supplication, Petition, Intercession, and Thanksgiving, is to be sent up to the God over all, by the High-Priest over all Angels, the animate Word and God. We will also supplicate the Word, intercede with him, give him Thanks, and pray to him, if we may understand, whether is meant proper Prayer, or Prayer abusively, or improperly so called.” Here, says *Huetius*, he orders proper Prayer to be pour’d out to God the Father, but improper to the Son. ² *In the other* are these Words: “ But we worship the one God, and his one Son, and Word, and Image, with the most earnest Supplications and Petitions, offering our Prayers to the God of all, by his Only-begotten Son to whom we first offer them, beseeching him, who is the Propitiation for our Sins, as our High-Priest to carry our Prayers, Sacrifices, and Intercessions, to the God over all.” I wonder these Places should give Offence to the learned Man, in which (to confess the Truth) I have always thought the Catholic Doctrine, concerning the Person and Office of our Saviour, well explained. But to the Point. Christ, our Lord, may be considered in two Respects, as God, and as God-Man, or the Mediator between God and Man. If you consider our Saviour in the latter Respect, it is certain from many Places of Scripture, and from the Consent of all Christians, that all the Worship we pay to God, must be paid him through Christ the Mediator; yea, that all the Worship and Honour we pay to Christ, is (as *St. Paul* speaks) to redound wholly to the Glory of God the Father. That

¹ P. 233

² P. 386.

Christ is the Mediator between God and Man, with respect to both Natures, is also clear against the *Papists*, from the whole Current of Scripture, and antient Fathers. And it is manifest, that in both the Places before us; *Origen* had an especial Regard to the Mediatorial Relation of our Saviour: For in both he speaks of him, as our High-Priest, who intercedes with God the Father for us, and who offered himself as a Propitiation for our Sins. Now if we consider Christ as God, without regard to his Mediatorial Office, he hath two Relations. Either we look upon him *absolutely as God*, † or *relatively*, as God of God, the Son of God. Under the former Relation *Origen* frequently confesses, that the same Divine Worship is altogether due to him, which we pay to the Father, because of that most excellent Divinity, which he hath in common with the Father: *i. e.*

† Dr. Clarké opposes this Distinction, as having no Foundation in the Nature of the Thing, nor in *Origen*; and also as being contrary to the Doctrine of *Athanasius* and *Bishop Bull* himself. It has no Foundation in the Nature of the Thing, because Christ is manifestly no otherwise God, than as he is God of God. But that he is God of God, respects only the Derivation of his Deity; that he is God, respects that, whatsoever it is, which is derived; and how does it contradict the Nature of the Thing to distinguish these two? The same may be said of *Origen*; for as in some Places he speaks of Christ's Divinity in Terms equal to that of the Father, and in others in Terms subordinate, without this Distinction, he must be said to contradict himself. *Bishop Bull* neither contradicts *St. Athanasius* nor himself in this Distinction: Not *Athanasius*, whose Words, cited by the Doctor, are not an Affirmation, that he is only God of God, but also that he is God in the same Sense, in which God the Father is God, this only excepted, that he is not the Father. (The Passage is p. 564. Tom. 1. Part. 2.) Whoever will take the Pains to read this third Oration from the Beginning to this Place, will wonder at the Dis-ingenuity of the Citer, and especially if he observes that the Words [no other sort of Divinity] are opposed to the *Arians*, who allowed our Lord, to be God of God, as well as *Athanasius*, but not to be God, as the Father is God. He does not contradict himself. Christ may be the Son of God, considered in his Essence, and Divine Nature, not Personality only, and yet may be considered as the Son of God, *i. e.* God, with Relation to his Omni-perfect Nature only, or as the Son of God, *i. e.* God, with Relation to the Derivation of that Omni-perfect Nature. Nor does it follow that he, who looks upon the Son of God in this abstracted Manner, must immediately find his Sonship in his Personality only.

That

That we ought in our Mind and Conceptions (in which alone we properly worship God) to ascribe all the same Perfections of the Divine Nature to the Son which we ascribe to the Father. See the Places cited in the 8th Paragraph of this Chapter. But if we look upon the Son, in his relative Capacity, as the Son, and originated from the Father, then again it is certain, that all the Worship and Reverence, we pay him, redounds to, and is terminated in the Fountain of the Deity, the Father. *Origen* seems to have thought thus, in the Words immediately following those cited by *Huetius* in the latter Place. "Our Faith then is in God, through his Son, who confirms it in us. Nor can *Celsus* shew any Sedition, or Revolt from the Father, in our Behaviour towards the Son. For we worship the Father, when we admire his Son, Word, Wisdom, Truth, Righteousness, and every Thing, which we are taught that the Son of God is, so begotten of such a Father." This sound Catholic Doctrine all know, who are moderately conversant with the Antients. This Eminence of the Father, moreover, is this Day acknowledged in all the Liturgies of the Catholic Church. For in the Doxologies, we honour God the Father in the first Rank (as *Justin* speaks) and direct most of our Prayers to him. With respect to this Matter *Petavius's* Answer to *Crellius*, concerning the Holy Spirit, is worthy our Notice. "That Prayers are not commonly directed to the Holy Spirit in Public, in the Church, will be of no Service to *Crellius*: For antiently most of the Prayers were refer'd to the Father. And so we find it decreed in the third Council of *Carthage*, Canon 23, that when we stand at the Altar, the Prayer should always be directed to God the Father. Because, then indeed, when the Body of Christ, or the Man Christ is offered, and the old bloody Sacrifice commemorated, it is fit all should be referred to the Father, as the Author and Principle; that we should then imitate our great High-Priest, Christ

“ the Lord, who was wont to refer all he said or did to
 “ the Honour of the Father, and in that last Sacrifice
 “ delivered himself up an Oblation for us, and a Sacri-
 “ fice of a sweet Savour to God. Nor does it from
 “ hence follow that Christ is not God, or that the Holy Spi-
 “ rit is not, &c. but this only, that there is a supreme
 “ Principle of them both, from whom they are indeed
 “ distinct in Properties, but the same in Nature and Ef-
 “ fence.”

16. Hitherto we have defended those Things, which *Petavius* and *Huetius* have censured in *Origen's* Books against *Celsus*. But besides these, *Jerome* (too much indulging his Hatred of *Origen*, or *Origen's* Interpreter *Ruffinus*, and upon that Account, loving to give every Word the worst Sense) has noted many other Things, impiously and absurdly spoken of the Son of God, in the other Writings of *Origen*; all which are easily refuted out of that one Piece against *Celsus*. We will touch upon the chief.

¹ In Ep. 59. to *Avit.* reckoning the Errors of the Books *μετὰ ἀρχῶν*, *Jerome* says, that *Origen*, in the first Volume of that Work, has wrote, *That God the Father, by Nature invisible, is not seen by the Son.* And in the second. *It remains then, that God is invisible, but if by Nature invisible, invisible to our Saviour.* Again, ² he cites, and condemns these Words of *Origen.* *As it is incongruous to say, that the Son can see the Father, so it is incongruous to think that the Holy Spirit can see the Son.* And ³ *Epiphanius* makes this the chief Error of *Origen*. But let us hear *Origen* himself in that undoubted Work of his against *Celsus*, explaining his Opinion concerning the Knowledge which the Father and Son have of each other: “ But,
 “ *says he*, our Saviour ⁴ and Lord, the Word of God,
 “ shewing the Greatness of his Knowledge of the Father,
 “ that, in the first Place, he is conceived and known by
 “ him only, as he ought to be: *Secondly*, By those
 “ whose Understandings are enlightened by the very

¹ Ad. Avitum. Ep. 59.

² In. Ep. Ad. Pammach. 61.

³ Hieres. 64. c. 4. and in *Anchorato*, cap. 63.

⁴ Lib. 6. p. 287.

“ Word,

“ Word, even God, he saith, *No Man knoweth the Son*
 “ *but the Father, nor the Father but the Son, and he to*
 “ *whom the Son shall reveal him.* For no one can know
 “ the uncreated, and the first begotten of every Creature,
 “ as he ought, like the Father, who begat him; nor the
 “ Father, like the animate Word, his Wisdom and Truth.”
 Nothing can be more Catholic. But we have also heard
above; † that the Father is comprehensible to the Word,
 his Son. As for the Places cited from the Books Of *Prin-*
ciples, I can answer, that they are the most corrupt, and
 interpolated, of all his Writings, † as *Ruffinus* hath ful-
 ly shewn. But we have no need of such an Answer,
 when the very Words of *Origen*, cited entire by *Ruffinus*,
 ‡ who explains the Design of the Author, and the Con-
 text of the Discourse, do sufficiently clear him. The
 Matter was this. *Origen* † had disputed against those who
 say God is corporeal, and describe him with Humane
 Members and Habit; the Heresy of the *Valentinians*, and
Anthropomorphites especially. *Origen* defending the Faith
 of the Church, against these *Heretics*, had proved that
 God was every way incorporeal, and therefore invisible.
 After which, the Order of the Dispute, leading him to
 it, he adds: “ But these Assertions have, perhaps, little
 “ Authority with those, who would be instructed in
 “ Divine Matters from the Holy Scriptures, and require
 “ Proof from them, how the Nature of God, excelleth
 “ the Nature of Bodies. See whether the Apostle does
 “ not say the same, when he speaks of Christ thus:
 “ *Who is the Image of the invisible God, the first-born of*
 “ *every Creature.* For he is not, as some think, visible
 “ to some, and invisible to others, because the Apostle
 “ says not, *the Image of God, invisible to Men, or invisible*
 “ *to Sinners*: But he constantly says, speaking of the
 “ Nature of God, *the Image of the invisible God.* But
 “ St. *John* also saying in the Gospel, *No one hath seen*

† Sect. 9. of this Chapter. † Proleg. Ruffini in Lib. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

‡ Invektiv. inter opera Hieronymi Tom. 9. p. 139. ‡ In Lib. 1. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

" him, at any Time, manifestly declares, to all understand-
 " ing Persons, that there is no Nature, to which God is
 " visible; not as though he was indeed by Nature visi-
 " ble, but escapes the Eye of a frail Creature; but that
 " it is naturally impossible to see him. Now if you ask
 " me what I think of the only begotten; don't imme-
 " diately think it either absurd or impious, if I tell you
 " that the Nature of God, who is naturally invisible, is
 " to him also invisible; for I will give you a Reason
 " hereafter. It is one Thing to see, and another to
 " know. To see, and be seen, is corporeal; to know,
 " and be known, is of an intellectual Nature. Whatso-
 " ever is proper to Bodies, we are not to think of the
 " Father, and the Son. This is manifest, betwixt the
 " Father, and the Son, with respect to the Nature of
 " the Deity. Lastly, he hath not said in the Gospel,
 " *No one seeth the Father, except the Son; nor the Son, except*
 " *the Father*; but he saith, *no one knoweth the Father,*
 " &c. Whence it is plain, that what to see, and to be
 " seen, is between corporeals, that same to know, and
 " be known, is between the Father and the Son, by the
 " Power of Knowledge, not the Weakness of Visibility.
 " Because, therefore neither to see, or be seen, is proper
 " to be said of an incorporeal, and visible Nature, nei-
 " ther the Father is in the Gospel, said to be seen by
 " the Son, nor the Son, by the Father, but to be known,
 " &c." Who would not immediately own, with *Ruffi-*
nus, that in these Words *Origen* makes no comparison be-
 tween the Father and the Son, but enquires concerning
 the very Nature of the Deity, whether the Word *Visi-*
bility can in any Sense be proper to it? For *Origen* de-
 nies not, nay, he plainly enough says, that the Father is
 equally perceived by the Son, as the Son by the Father,
i. e. most perfectly; but he says this only, that the one
 is perceived by the other, not by the *Weakness of Vi-*
sibility, but by the *Power of Knowledge*. What says
Jerome to this? Hear, and judge. ¹ He speaks thus:

¹ Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Lib. 2. Tom. 2. p. 511.

“ In the first Book of Principles, where *Origen* with his
 “ Sacrilegious Tongue speaks Blasphemy, that the Son
 “ doth not see the Father; thou givest Reasons, as in
 “ his Name who wrote, and interpretest the Comment
 “ of *Didymus*, in which he vainly endeavours to defend
 “ another Person’s Error, that *Origen* said well: But we,
 “ plain Home-spun Creatures, can neither understand
 “ his Wisdom, nor thine, his Interpreter.” But why
 doth he not shew that the Words of *Origen*, would not
 bear the Comment of *Didymus* (a great Man in the Church,
 and formerly *Ferome*’s Master), or that it was fraudulent-
 ly recited, or rendered, by *Ruffinus*? Because he could
 not, I believe. It was *Ferome*’s rhetorical Way, either
 to pass over in Silence, or satyrically to elude what pres-
 sed him. Surely the Words of *Origen*, as cited by *Ferome*
 himself, shew plainly, that the Answer of *Ruffinus*,
 and of *Didymus* before him, was very true. He saith
Origen wrote, *That God the Father, by Nature invisible, is*
not seen by the Son: And again, *If God be by Nature in-*
visible, he is not visible to our Saviour. Hence we plainly
 gather, that *Origen* therefore said the Father could not
 be seen of the Son, not that the Son, being of a weak
 Sight, could not see the Father, who otherwise was
 in his Nature, capable of being seen by a proper Facul-
 ty; but, that God in his own Nature is incorporeal, in-
 visible, not an Object of sight, and therefore pronounced
 the Father and Son to be mutually invisible. To speak
 freely of the Thing. *Hierome*, in this Accusation of *Ori-*
gen, has discovered so plainly a mind lost to Candor, and
 hurry’d away with Passion, that he has destroyed the Cre-
 dit of all his other Charges. A thing any one will soon
 find, who will give himself the Trouble to compare the
 Invectives of *Ruffinus* about this Matter, with the Apo-
 logy of *Ferome* against him.

17. In the same Epistle to *Avitus*, *Ferome* accuses *Ori-*
gen of this impious Saying, *That the Son compared to the*
Father is not Truth, but compared to us is imaginary or ectypal
Truth. Others of the Antients heighten the Accusation,
 and make him say, that *the Son compared to the Father is a*

Lie.

Lie. What sober Man can believe this? I have but now shewn that *Origen*, both in his Books against *Celsus*, and elsewhere, hath in exprefs Words taught, that *the Son is very Truth*. But the Answer to this Objection is plain from the Objection it self, as it is propos'd in *Greek* by an anonymous Defender of *Origen* in *Photius*.¹ He places this the last of those Articles generally alledged against *Origen*, *That the Image of God, compared to him, whose Image it is, as it is the Image, is not the Truth*. Which Proposition rightly considered is sound and Catholic. For it is certain, that the Son, as he is the Image of the Father, is not the Truth, *i. e.* not the Father himself, whose Image he is. This seems to be spoken by *Origen* against the *Noetians*, who asserted the same to be the Person of the Father and the Son. But *Origen* expressly teaches (the entire place I will produce hereafter) that the Son of God is the true, lively, perfect Image of his Father, answering to his Father in all Things, even in Greatness.

18. Lastly. *Jerome* in the Epistle to *Avitus*, charges *Origen* with this Blasphemy, *That God the Father is Light incomprehensible, that Christ compared to him, is but a very small Light*. But we have seen above, in more places than one, that *Origen* in his Books against *Celsus* says, that the Father and Son are equally incomprehensible. This Objection seems to arise from those Places, where *Origen* says, that *there is no Darknes in the Father, but the Son shineth in Darknes*. But *Origen* hath clearly explained his Meaning in those Passages, in these Words: "Let no one think
" we say these Things blaspheming the Christ of God.
" For by the same Reason that the Father alone hath Immortality, because our Lord, of his Love to Mankind,
" hath taken upon him Death for us; by this Rule the
" Father alone hath what is written, *i. e.* *There is no
" Darknes in him*; Christ for the benefit of Men having
" taken upon him our Darknes."

19. Thus I have at length clearly shewn, that the Doctrine of *Origen's* Book against *Celsus* is Orthodox and Ca-

¹ Cod. 117. in fine,

tholic in the Article about the Son of God, and have opposed Assertions out of that undoubted Work, quite contrary to those impious Sayings objected by *Jerome*, and others, to that excellent Doctor. Whoever desires to know the other Catholic Testimonies found in the rest of his Writings, may consult the Martyr *Pamphilus's* Apology (we shall prove it undoubtedly his against *Jerome*) for *Origen*, among *Jerome's* Works. ¹ It shall be sufficient for us to recite a few select Places. *Pamphilus* cites these Words out of the ² *first Book of Principles*: "There is
 " then no Nature, not receptible of Evil, except God's,
 " which is the Fountain of all. And Christ is Wisdom,
 " and Wisdom is not receptible of Folly; and Justice,
 " therefore not receptible of Injustice. And he is the
 " Word, or Reason, therefore can't be made Irrational.
 " But he is the Light too, and it is certain the Darkness
 " comprehendeth it not. In like manner, the Nature of
 " the Holy Spirit, which is Holy, is not capable of Pol-
 " lution; for it is naturally, or substantially Holy. And
 " if there is any other Nature Holy, it hath its Sanctifica-
 " tion from the Assumption, or Inspiration of the Holy
 " Spirit, not possessing it of its own Nature, but as an
 " Accident; upon which Account it may be lost, as be-
 " ing an Accident." Here *Origen* expressly teaches, that Impeccability belongs to the Deity alone; and at the same time no less expressly says, that neither the Son, nor the Spirit can sin; therefore *Origen* was wholly of Opinion, that both the Son and Holy Spirit did subsist in the Divine Nature. I could wish those Persons would take Notice of this, who think that *Origen* did at least place the Holy Spirit amongst the Creatures. But a little after, in the same place, he clearly owns the Inconvertibility and Eternity of the whole Trinity. "If the Holy Spirit
 " came to the Knowledge of the Father by the Revelation
 " of the Son, then he came from Ignorance to Know-
 " ledge: A Thing both impious and foolish, to confess
 " him to be the Holy Spirit, and to say he is ignorant.

¹ Tom. 9. Ed. Marian. Victor. Paris. 1623. ² p. 120.

“ For, we are not to suppose there was something else be-
 “ fore the Holy Spirit, and that he made such a Proficien-
 “ cy as to be the Holy Spirit, so that any one should dare
 “ to say, that when he was not yet the Holy Spirit, he
 “ did not know the Father, but after that he had received
 “ Knowledge, he was made the Holy Spirit. Which if
 “ it had been, the Holy Spirit had never been in the Uni-
 “ ty of the inconvertible God the Father, and his Son,
 “ unless as he himself always was the Holy Spirit.” Of
 the Son of God *Origen* writes thus, in the first Book up-
 on the Epistle to the *Romans*: “ Some one may perhaps
 “ ask, whether the Son is God, chiefly for this, because
 “ *John* attributes that Word to God the Father, saying,
 “ that *God is Love*. But we shall again produce out of
 “ the same Epistle what he also says, *Beloved, let us Love*
 “ *one another, for Love is of God*. He therefore that said
 “ God is Love, said also that Love is of God, which
 “ Love I believe to be no other than his Only-begotten
 “ Son, as God of God, so Love of Love. The Only-
 “ begotten Son, our Saviour, who alone was born of the
 “ Father, and alone is his Son by Nature, not Adoption.”
 A little after in the Commentaries upon the Epistle to the
Hebrews, *Pamphilus* cites *Origen*: “ Now we must know,
 “ that in certain ineffable, secret, hidden Matters, the Ho-
 “ ly Scripture doing Violence to it self, endeavours to in-
 “ form Men, and by the word Vapour, suggests pure
 “ Knowledge. Which Word it hath therefore taken from
 “ corporeal Things, that we may in some sort understand,
 “ that Christ, who is Wisdom, after the Similitude of
 “ that Vapour, which proceeds from some corporeal Sub-
 “ stance, proceeds as a certain Vapour from the Power of
 “ God himself; so also Wisdom, proceeding from him,
 “ is begotten of the very Substance of God. So, never-
 “ theless, and according to the Similitude of a corporeal
 “ Efflux, is the pure and sincere Efflux of the Almighty
 “ Glory said to be. Both which Similitudes manifestly
 “ shew that there is a Communion of Substance between
 “ the Father and the Son. For an Efflux seems to be
 “ Consubstantial, or of one Substance with that Body
 “ from

“ from which it is an Efflux, or Vapour.” Lastly, The blessed Martyr brings this place of *Origen* : “ We must take care, that no one run into the absurd Fables of those, who make to themselves certain Productions, so as to cut the Divine Nature into Parts, and divide (as much as in them is) God the Father; whereas even lightly to suspect any such Thing of an incorporeal Nature, is not only extreme Impiety, but great Folly; nor is it at all to be understood, how there can be a substantial Division of an incorporeal Nature. But rather, as the Will proceeds from the Mind, and neither cuts any Part of it, nor is separated, or divided from it, after some such manner the Father must be thought to have begotten the Son, his own Image, that as he himself is in Nature invisible, so he should beget an invisible Image. For the Son is a Word, therefore nothing material or sensible to be understood in him. He is Wisdom, and in Wisdom nothing corporeal is to be suspected. *He is the true Light, that enlightneth every one that cometh into the World*, but hath nothing in common with the Light of this Sun.”

20. Who does not see in these places of *Origen*, cited from *Pamphilus*, that the Catholic Faith concerning the Son of God, and even of the consubstantial Trinity is confirmed? But some attempt to destroy the Authority of these Testimonies, by pretending that they never were in the *Greek* of *Pamphilus*, or *Eusebius's* *Apology*, but were made and added by *Ruffinus* in his *Latin* Version. The whole and sole Reason for this is, because *Jerome* has objected against *Ruffinus*, that *Eusebius's* *Greek* *Apology* (for he will not allow it to be *Pamphilus's*) defended the *Arian* Creed, and proved that *Origen* was of that Faith.

¹ So he says : “ That learned Man *Eusebius* does nothing else throughout six Volumes, but shew that *Origen* was of his Persuasion, of the *Arian* Perfidy.” Hence ² *Sandius* concludes, that the *Apology* under the Name of *Pam-*

¹ Hieronymi Apolog. adv. Ruff. lib. 2. c. 4. ² De Script. Eccl. P. 47.

philus, publish'd in *Latin* by *Ruffinus*, is either none of *Eusebius's*, (or *Pamphilus's*), or so rendered into *Latin* by *Ruffinus*, as that there is not one genuine Line left; or if any Thing genuine was left by *Ruffinus*, that it has been taken out of his Version since. But it may be proved, that in this Case *Jerome* is not to be credited. For, (1.) *Photius* ¹ witnesseth, that he had read in *Greek* six Books of *Pamphilus Martyr* and *Eusebius* for *Origen*, in which that severe Censor, who was wont to blame the least Tendencies toward *Arianism* in the Writings of others, does not observe any Footsteps of that Heresy. Again, the same *Photius* ² making mention of a certain old anonymous Author, who had also wrote an Apology for *Origen*, says, that Author in his Apology for *Origen* and his Opinions, made use of the Authority of other antient Authors, but especially of *Pamphilus Martyr*, and *Eusebius Casariensis*. So that it is with me out of doubt, That that anonymous Author altogether followed the same Method of defending *Origen*, as *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* did. But was the Apologist an *Arian*? Nothing less. For *Photius*, who otherwise never spares *Origen*, expressly says of him, that he had made no Mistakes about the Trinity. But how does this Author defend *Origen*? He says of *Origen*, saith *Photius*, That he had not erred in the Doctrine of the Trinity. A little after *Photius* says, that Writer had proved fifteen Articles of *Origen's* Charge (of which the three first, the thirteenth, and the last belonged to the Trinity) to be Calumnies, and had demonstrated it out of his Works. The Apology publish'd by *Ruffinus*, under the Name of *Pamphilus*, takes the same Way and Method. Hence it follows, that such Testimonies were cited from *Origen*, then Extant in *Greek*, by an old *Greek* Author, even in *Photius's* Judgment a Catholic in the Article of the Trinity, as also shewed *Origen* to be a Catholic in the same Article, and that this Author defended him thus by the Example of *Pamphilus Martyr* and *Eusebius*. Lastly, We have elsewhere evidently proved, that *Eusebius* himself never embrac-

* Cod. 118.

* Cod. 117.

ced the Heresy afterwards called *Arianism*: Therefore *Eusebius* could not either alone, or with *Pamphilus* (for I shall shew hereafter that * it was their joint Work) defend the *Arian* Impiety in *Origen*. But *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* seem in their Defence to have brought some Testimonies out of *Origen*, in which there are mixt certain Words and Sayings, which in *Jerome's* time did not please the Catholics, as being then used by *Arians* in defending their Heresy; which Testimonies *Ruffinus* for that Reason left out of his Version, content to translate such places of *Origen* cited by *Pamphilus*, as plainly delivered the Catholic Doctrine in Catholic Expressions. This *Ruffinus* seems to hint, when in the *Epilogue* of his Translation he says to *Macarius*; *That he had digested the Holy Martyr Pamphilus's Apologetic in the Latin Tongue, as he could, and the Matter required.* But I'm persuaded that *Ruffinus* put no Testimony of *Origen* in his Version, which he did not find in so many Words in *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius*, and added nothing of his own, whatsoever he took away. For *Ruffinus* himself (a Man who gave many Proofs of sincere Piety, how odious soever *Jerome* made him to the Romans by his base Artifices) about the beginning of his *Preface* to *Macarius*, upon the *Apology* of *Pamphilus*, sacredly professes, that in this Work he had not given *Macarius*, who desired to be informed of it, *his own Opinion* of *Origen*, but that of the *Holy Martyr Pamphilus*, and had defended *Origen*, not in his own Words, but in another Person's. A little after, in the same place, and upon the same Account, he cites his Adversaries to the tremendous Judgment of God, in these Words: " But since we shall all come to the Judgment
 " of God, let them not refuse to know the Truth, lest
 " not knowing it they offend; considering that to wound
 " the Consciences of weak Brethren with false Accusati-
 " ons is to sin against Christ. And therefore let them not
 " give Ear to Accusations, nor learn one Man's Reputati-
 " on from another, when they may have personal Trial,
 " and the Confession of his own Mouth shews what, and

* See c. 13. n. 3. of this Section.

“ how every one believes. How *Origen* thought in the
 “ Particulars before us, let the Tenour of his Book in-
 “ form.” It is plain that *Ruffinus* added many Things of
 his own in translating most of *Origen*’s Books ; but as of-
 ten as he used that Liberty, like an honest Man and a Lo-
 ver of Truth, he himself informs his Reader of it. ¹ What
 say you to this, moreover, that even *Jerome*, who would
 not have forgiven him so manifest a Fraud, has not obser-
 ved one Passage of *Origen* cited in the Apology of *Pamphi-
 lus* or *Eusebius*, which is otherwise translated into *Latin* by
Ruffinus, than it was read in the Apology, or in *Origen*
 himself.

21. Who would not wonder at *Jerome* ² thus object-
 ing against *Ruffinus*’s Version ? “ There are many Of-
 “ fences, and open Blasphemies in it. *Eusebius*, nay *Pam-
 “ philus*, (as thou wilt have it), says in that Volume, that
 “ the Holy Spirit is the Minister of the Father and Son,
 “ not of the same Substance with the Father and Son, and
 “ that the Souls of Men came down from Heaven, &c.”
 For though *Pamphilus* in his Apology translated by *Ruffi-
 nus*, is indeed brought in, defending *Origen* in his Belief of
 the Pre-existence of Souls, that Blasphemy concerning the
 Holy Spirit is in no part of the Work. Copies of *Ruffi-
 nus*’s Translation were dispersed far and wide, before *Je-
 rone* made this Objection ; and is it probable that *Ruffinus*,
 a Man despicable at *Rome*, through *Jerome*’s Artifice, could
 suppress, or correct all those former Copies ? Besides, *Ruf-
 finus* in his *Epilogue* to the Apology, as it was first put out
 by him (so *Jerome* informs us) thus speaks to *Macarius* :
 “ Of those Things, which we have digested in the *Latin*
 “ Tongue, as well as we could, and as the Case required,
 “ in the former Book, according to the Apologetic of
 “ the Holy Martyr *Pamphilus*, which he put out for *Ori-
 “ gen* in the *Greek* Tongue: This I would have you to
 “ know, my dear *Macarius*, that that is the Rule of
 “ Faith to be embraced and held fast, which we have ex-

¹ Ruff. Præfat. in Lib. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, & Perorat. ad Comment. Orig.
 in Ep. ad Rom. ² Apol. adv. Ruff. lib. 2. c. 4.

“pounded above out of his Books. For it is evidently
 “proved, that there is a Catholic Sense in all these.” It
 can’t be that *Ruffinus*, a Catholic without doubt in the Ar-
 ticle of the Trinity, should advisedly say it was evidently
 proved there was a Catholic Sense in so plain Blasphemy ;
 and that in the very Book to *Macarius*, in which he pro-
 fesses religiously to believe the Holy Trinity Co-eternal,
 of one Nature, Power, and Substance, and denounces an
 Anathema against him that teaches otherwise. Could he
 be so stupid as not to take Notice of so gross a Blasphemy
 in his own Translation, without a Monitor ? In no wise.
 What shall we say then ? With the Reader’s leave I’ll of-
 fer my Conjecture. *Pamphilus* near the end of the Apo-
 logy translated by *Ruffinus*, defending *Origen*’s Error con-
 cerning the Pre-existence of Souls, or at least excusing it,
 and disputing against those, who maintained the Soul to
 be delivered down from Father to Son, describes two sorts
 of Men ; one who taught that the Souls of Men were
 thus delivered, but yet that the first Soul was of the Sub-
 stance of God ; another who asserted, that even that first
 Soul was made of nothing by God. Against the former
 he thus disputes : “ Now those that affirm the Souls to
 “ be *ex traduce*, and propagated together with the corpo-
 “ real Seed ; if, as some of them usually affirm, they say
 “ the Soul is nothing else but the Breathing in of the Spi-
 “ rit of God, namely, that, which God is said in the be-
 “ ginning of the Creation of the World to have breathed
 “ into *Adam*, professing that it is of the very Substance
 “ of God ; how will they avoid the asserting in some fore
 “ contrary to the Rule of Scripture, and the Measure of
 “ Piety, that it is the Substance of God ? ” I scarce doubt,
 but that these Words of *Pamphilus* are the Foundation of
Jerome’s Calumny. For *Jerome*, as many of the Anti-
 ents, thought the Breath of Life, which God breathed
 into the first Man, was the very Spirit of God infused
 into him, together with his Soul. Thus he speaks in his
 Comments upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians* : “ Grieve

“ not the Holy Spirit in whom ye are sealed to the Day
 “ of Redemption ; for we are sealed by the Holy Spirit
 “ of God, so that our Spirit and Soul are impressed by
 “ the Seal of God, and we receive that Image, and Si-
 “ militude, after which we were made in the beginning.
 “ This Seal of the Holy Spirit, (as our Saviour speaks)
 “ is sealed by God.” Here he interprets that Image and
 Similitude of God, after which Man was formed in the
 Creation, to be the Seal of the Holy Spirit ; which he
 therefore seems to have done, because he believed the Breath
 of Life, which God is said to have breathed into him,
 when he made the first Man, to be the Holy Spirit.
¹ *Tertullian* is clearer upon this Point, where he speaks
 concerning the Re-generation of Man by Baptism : “ Man
 “ is so restored by God, to his Image, as he was of old
 “ created after it, &c. For he receives that Spirit of God,
 “ which he then received by God’s breathing upon him,
 “ and which he lost by Sin.” Hence probably it came
 to pass, that *Pamphilus*, or the Author of the Apology,
 denying the Insufflation of the Spirit of God (under-
 standing by the Insufflation (as his Adversaries, whom he
 refutes) nothing else but the humane Soul) to be of the
 Substance of God, *Jerome* accused him, as though he had
 taught that the Spirit of God, the third Person of the
 Divinity, was not of the Substance of God, and there-
 fore his Minister, or Creature. He that likes not this
 conjecture, must say, that *Ruffinus* has been corrupted by
 his Enemies, and *Jerome*’s Partizans, and that *Jerome* rais-
 ed this Objection from that Depravation. Such a Com-
 plaint as this, ² *Ruffinus*, calling God, who knows the Heart,
 to avenge his Wrong, has made, concerning the Version of
Origen *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. So he speaks : “ They should have set
 “ my Words down, as I translated them ; but now hear
 “ what they do, and find an Example of such flagrant
 “ Wickedness, if you can. In the Place were it was writ-
 “ ten, But if you ask me what I think, even of the only
 “ begotten ; if I should say, that the Nature of God, na-

¹ *Tertull.* p. 226.

² *Lib. 1. Invect. adv. Hieronym. Tom.*
9. p. 140.

“turally invifible, is not vifible to him, don’t immediately
 “conclude it impious, or abfurd : For I will give you a
 “Reason by and bye. Inftead of what I have written,
 “namely, for I will give you a Reason by and bye; they
 “have written, Don’t immediately conclude it impious and
 “abfurd, becaufe as the Son fees not the Father, fo the Holy
 “Spirit fees not the Son. If the Monk, who for his trick
 “of Calumny was fent to *Rome*, had done fuch a Thing
 “in Court, or in fecular Matters; every Body knows what
 “Care the public Laws would have taken of the Criminal.
 “But now, that he has left the World, retired from all the
 “Brangle of public Bufinefs to a Monaftery, and given
 “up himfelf wholly to his great Mafter, he has again
 “learnt of him Rage and Madnefs, inftead of Mode-
 “fty; to ftir up War and Sedition, rather than promote
 “Peace and Quietnefs; to raife Quarrels, inftead of Con-
 “cord, to be perfidious for the Faith, and to lye for the
 “Truth.” In the fame Place, a little after, he fpeaks
 thus of that Forger: “When he had recited fuch a forg’d Sen-
 “tence at *Milan*, and I had affirmed that what he faid
 “was falfe, being afkt of whom he had his Copies, he
 “answered, A certain *Matron* gave them him: Of whom,
 “whofoever fhe was, I fay nothing, but leave her to
 “God, and her own Confcience.” This fhall fuffice at
 prefent for *Pamphilus’s* Apology for *Origen*.

22. To conclude this Chapter at laft; upon attentively weighing the Places of *Origen* afore-cited, I’m of opinion, that Father, lafted by the Cenfures of fo many Divines antient and modern, was truly Catholic in the Article relating to the Divinity of the Son, and the Trinity alfo; although he fometimes fpoke otherwife in explaining the Articles, than the Catholics now do; a Thing he hath in common, with almoft all the other *Ante-Nicene* Fathers. I would ask leave, fince I have been very diligent in his Writings, and have weighed the History of him, written by the Antients, freely and univerfally to give my Judgment of his Theology, without Offence to any one. All agree that he was a very pious Man, but of a Wit too curious, and almoft wanton. His
 Piety

Piety and Religion kept him from Innovations in the Rule of Faith, a great part of which is the Doctrine of the Trinity. In other Matters, which might be controverted without Hazard to the Faith, he indulged his Genius, and in a few Things differed very much from the more received Opinion of his Contemporaries. I place to this Account, his Paradoxes of the Pre-existence of Souls, of the animated Luminaries of the Heavens, of infinite Worlds, &c. But then in these Things he preserved the Modesty of a Pious Man, proposing them not in a dogmatical asserting Air; but diligently seeking the Truth, where the Church had not defined any Thing. Consult by all means the Apology of *Pamphilus* concerning this Matter, not far from the beginning. †

23. This Judgment of mine upon *Origen* is confirmed by many other Testimonies besides those already cited. (1.) Though the Defenders of *Origen*, who were Catholics in the Article of the Trinity, deny'd not his other Heterodox Tenets, such as I have mentioned, either excusing or defending them; they always eagerly contended, that he was of the Catholic Opinion concerning the Trinity. Thus we have shewed that *Pamphilus* and the old anonymous Apologist behav'd. *Jerome* himself always tells us, that *Didymus Alexandrinus*, a Man famous for Piety and Learning, and a strenuous Defender of the *Nicene* Faith, took the same Method, in the same Case. Thus he speaks to *Ruffinus*: "What will you say for *Didymus*, who without doubt was Catholic in the Trinity, and whose Book of the Holy Spirit, I translated into *Latin*? He could not consent to those Things in the Writings of *Origen*, which had been added by Heretics; and in the Books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, which you have interpreted, has wrote short Notes, not to deny those Things to be written by *Origen*, which were written by him; but to tell us rude Creatures, that we could not understand what was said; and to endeavour to

† See also Huetij *Origen*. Lib. 2. p. 189.
Lib. 2. c. 4.

* *Apol. adv. Ruff.*

" put a good Sense upon them. This he only speaks
 " concerning the Son and Holy Spirit. But in his
 " other Doctrines, *Eusebius* and *Didymus* plainly fall in
 " with him, and defend that as Pious and Catholic,
 " which all Churches reject." The Words of *Socrates*,
 " concerning *Basil* the Great, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, are
 worthy Notice. " When the *Arians* cited the Books
 " of *Origen*, to give Evidence, as they thought, for their
 " Opinion, they confuted them, and shewed, they had
 " not taken *Origen's* meaning." (2.) The more an-
 tient, and the chief Adversaries of *Origen*, who used him
 severely upon other Accounts, have scarce said any Thing
 about the Trinity. For *Socrates* ² speaking of the pri-
 mary Accusers of him, *Methodius*, *Eustathius*, *Apollinaris*,
 and *Theophilus* (whom he with Indignation calls a qua-
 ternion of Evil-speakers) makes this Observation: " I af-
 " firm that *Origen* has been a gainer by their Accusation.
 " For whereas they used all Means to asperse him, and
 " yet could lay nothing to his Charge, as to Heterodoxy
 " about the Holy Trinity, they are clearly become Evi-
 " dences that he was Orthodox and Pious there." *Theo-*
philus (if we may believe *Jerome*) blames some Mistakes
 of his about the Trinity, in the first of his Paschal Epi-
 stles, translated into *Latin* by *Jerome*, and extant, both
 among his Works, and in the great *Bibliotheca Patrum*.
 But it would be nothing to confute them, if we had
 leisure for it. Indeed *Sulpitius Severus*, ³ a very faithful
 Historian, giving an Account of the Council gathered by
Theophilus in his Time, against the Writings of *Origen*,
 says: " When many Things were read in his Books,
 " which it was plain were wrote contrary to the Ca-
 " tholic Faith, That Place raised the greatest Odium, in
 " which it was said, That as our Lord Jesus came in the
 " Flesh, for the Redemption of Man, suffered Crucifixi-
 " on for his Salvation, tasted Death for his Immortali-
 " ty, so he would, by the same Steps of Suffering, re-

¹ Socr. E. H. Lib. 4. C. 26. p. 198. ² Ibid. Lib. 6. C. 13.
 p. 261. ³ Dial. 1. c. 3.

“ deem the Devil : For that it was agreeable to his Piety and Goodness, who had restored lost Man, to deliver the fall’n Angel also.” If it had been so plain that *Origen* was Heterodox in the Trinity, as *Ferome* and others pretend ; surely *Theophilus*, and the Bishops of his Party, who did all they could to swell his Accusation, and had it chiefly at Heart, to render him (whose Authority the factious Monks had abused against the Church) very odious, would have laid open this Heresy before all Men, as what was, and justly too, the most hateful to all Catholics in that Age. But cautious Men as they were, they knew very well this Accusation would easily be refuted from the undoubted Writings of *Origen*, and therefore omitting it, chiefly charged him, where he could not be so easily defended. *Severus* adds in the same place, that what was objected to *Origen* in that particular, was in his Thoughts, an Error, not an Heresy : But it is manifest *Severus* thought *Arianism* a very pestilent Heresy ; therefore *Origen* was not accused of *Arianism* in that petty Council. (3.) What *Eusebius* ¹ has said concerning *Origen*’s Firmness in holding fast the true Faith is remarkable : “ Keeping from a Child the Rule of the Church, and abhorring, as he somewhere says, Heretical Doctrines.” No Man, who is conversant in Ecclesiastical History, can be ignorant that *Origen* was the chief, and almost the only Champion of the Church against all the Heresies whatsoever, which arose in his time. Wheresoever, or how often soever an Heretic appeared, who durst oppose the Faith received in the Church, they had Recourse to *Origen* alone, who like another *David* would attack with his sling the *Goliath*, that defy’d the Army of the living God. Nay, out of a Love of, and a Zeal for the Truth, he freely, in this also like *David*, offer’d himself to engage. No Man ever better deserved to be called the Maul of the Heretics. But the Catholic Church always thought the Doctrine of the true Divinity of our Lord to make a part of her immoveable Rule of Faith. Nor did *Origen* think

¹ Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 165.

otherwise,

otherwise. For in his first Book of *Principles* ¹ (as *Pamphilus* cites it in his Apology) distinguishing the necessary Doctrines from those that are not so, he places these among those that are necessary. “*First*, That there is one God “ who created all Things. Then, that Jesus Christ was “ born of the Father before every Creature— Was made “ Man, when he was God, and when he was made Man, “ continued to be God—And then, that the Holy Spirit “ was joined to the Father and Son in Dignity and Honour.” Among the Doctrines not necessary, or the Problems, which may be modestly disputed either way, without hazard to the Church’s Peace, he reckons in the same place the Questions about the time and manner of creating the Angels, of the Sun, Moon and Stars, whether animate or inanimate, &c. *Origen* did perhaps indulge himself too much in discussing such Questions as these, but for those other Points he made a Scruple of the least Deviation from them. (4.) *Bellarmino’s* ² Argument, how much soever despised by the learned *Huetius*, is, with me, of great Weight. He proves that *Origen* was therefore Catholic in this Article, because his Master *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and his Scholars *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* were so. As for *Clement*, I have fully proved, when I spoke of his Faith, that the Catholic Doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity was not more clearly acknowledged and preached by any one than by him. I shall hereafter prove the same of the other two *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* (though the Jesuit *Petavius* to his own Disgrace has branded both those great Persons with *Arianism*). Now is it probable that he, who had so Catholic a Master, and such Orthodox Scholars in that Article, who also always admired their Master, as a most excellent Doctor of the Church, should be an Heretic in that very Article? (5.) The great *Athanasius* should in this Case be as good as a thousand Witnesses, who in his Book of the Decrees of the *Nicene* Synod expressly witnesseth, that *Origen* was of the same Opi-

¹ In Præf. etiam.

² Lib. 1. de Christo, cap. 10.

nion with the *Nicene* Fathers concerning the true and eternal Divinity of Christ. ¹ “ You may hear again from “ the laborious *Origen*, that the Son eternally co-existed “ with the Father, that he is not of any other Essence or “ Substance, but properly of the Father’s, as they have “ told us in the Synod of *Nice*.” Now in the same place, before he produces *Origen*’s Testimonies, *Athanasius* confesses, that there were some Things premised by *Origen* in the place to be cited first, which seemed contrary to sound Doctrine, but he says they were spoken by him in the way of Dispute, not Affelevation, and that what he cites is plainly *Origen*’s genuine Sense. ² “ After those “ Things, which, says he, *Origen* had spoken against the “ Heretics for Disputation’s sake, he immediately gives “ us his own Sense thus speaking.” Then he cites the famous place of *Origen* concerning the Eternity and Consubstantiality of the Son, to which he adds a second out of another Book of his, both which we reserve to our third Section. I really make no doubt, but that the Method of Reasoning which *Origen* every where follows, in his Writings, namely, first to represent the Heretical Tenets in the Person of the Heretic, and then to explain the Catholic Doctrine, first gave an opportunity to ignorant or ill-natur’d Men to asperse him, as though he had from his Heart defended Heresy. ³ *Huetius* says that *Athanasius* did not understand *Origen*’s Opinion. But that learned Man must pardon me, if notwithstanding what he says, I’m persuaded that *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, near the Times of *Origen*, who himself was an *Alexandrian*, a very diligent and exact Reader of his Books, and of the other Antients, understood *Origen*’s Mind much better than any of us late Moderns. *Huetius* proceeds: “ I deny not, says he, that *Origen* said thus; but I can’t confess that he said it in the Sense of the *Nicene* Council.” Again, I say, that the Sense of the *Nicene* Council could not be better known to any one than *Athanasius*, who

¹ Athan. Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 232. ² p. 233. ³ Origenian.
lib. 2. p. 33.

himself was present at it. Now the same *Athanasius* says, that *Origen* agreed with the Synod of *Nice*, both concerning the *Consubstantiality* and *Co-eternity* of the Son. *Huetius* doth not deny the one, but professes he can't own the other. But I have before fully and clearly shewn, that the *Nicene* Bishops did not in any other Sense say, that the Son was *Consubstantial* with the Father, than as the Son is defined true God, even as the Father, not of any created or mutable Essence. And I have also abundantly proved in this Chapter, that *Origen* owned the Son to be *Consubstantial* with the Father in this Sense. As for the numerical Unity (as it is called) of the Substance of the Father and the Son (which *Huetius* in the same place says *Origen* denied) I can evidently shew that *Origen* owned it as much as any of the more antient Fathers, or even *Athanasius* himself; that is, that *Origen* believed the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be really three, but not to exist dividually or separately as three Men, but to be intimately conjoined to one another, even to enter into and penetrate each other, by an ineffable Comprehension or Involution, or, as the Schoolmen speak, *Circuminfession*; by which, ¹ *Petavius* says, a numerical Unity is necessarily effected. But I shall have a better opportunity of speaking to this Point elsewhere. In the mean time let us pass on to the other Fathers.

¹ De Trin. lib. 4. c. 16.

C H A P. X.

Of the Faith and Opinion of Cyprian, Novatian, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity among the Works of Tertullian, and of Theognostus.

CYPRIAN was *Origen's* Contemporary, the chief Bishop of *Africa* during his Life, very Holy, of an Apostolical Spirit, and a Martyr. He has thought and wrote so pure and clean concerning the Divinity of the Son,

Son, as to escape *Petavius's* Censure, his usual Charge of *Arianism*. I'll therefore only cite a few Testimonies from him. In his second Book of *Testimonies* against the *Jews*, written to *Quirinus*, he very fully proves from the Scripture, that Christ is God, and attributes to him all those places, which in the same Scripture are only attributed to the supreme God. So Ch. 5. 6. ¹ *For God is in thee, and there is no God beside thee. For thou art God, and we knew not; God the Saviour of Israel.—This is our God, and there is no other God but him.—Be still, and know that I am God, I will be exalted in the Nations, and I will be exalted in the Earth.—Who is over all, God blessed for ever.—I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end.—Our God will return Vengeance, he will save us.—I the Lord God, this is my Name, I will not give mine Honour to another, nor my Glory to carved Images.* These Places and others, in which the great God is manifestly signified, he understands to be spoken of Christ. To which you may add what he professedly attempts to prove in the 10th Chapter of the same Book: ** That Christ, God and Man, compounded of both Kinds, must be the Mediator betwixt God and us.* The Words plainly signify, that Christ as God is Homogeneous and Consubstantial to God the Father, and as Man is equally Homogeneous and Consubstantial to us Men. Now it is certain, that these Books of Testimonies to *Quirinus*, are the genuine Works of *Cyprian*. For *Jerome*, ² *Austin*, *Gennadius*, and *Beda*, expressly ascribe them to him. Therefore *Erasmus's* Censure of them, as to him more probably spurious, is rash; one would wonder also how so great a Man could give so weak a Reason for it, namely, that the Author nowhere writes like *Cyprian*, except in the Preface. Now *Cyprian* could not write like himself any where else: For

¹ *Cyprian*, Oxon. p. 35, 36.

^{*} Pag. 37, &c. That is really proved, which is said to be so by this Author, but the Words cited are the Argument of the Church, not the Words of *Cyprian*. Let any Man read from ch. 6. to the 10th inclusively, and he will be fully convinced. This small mistake Dr. Whitby might have pardoned, who in the very Charge has made as great an one.

² Dialog. 1. adv. Pelag. August. lib. 4. contra 2 Epist. Pelag. c. 8 & 10. Gennad. Catal. de Pelag. & *Beda* Retract. in cap. 3. Act.

the whole three Books are nothing else but a Collection of Scripture Testimonies, and it was fit, in the citing of them, that he should follow the *Latin* Version received and commonly used in *Africa* at that time.

2. But in other of *Cyprian's* Pieces, you may every where read something declarative of the Son's Divinity. I'll cite a place or two. ¹ Thus he calls our Saviour Christ, *Our Lord and God*; as again afterwards in the same place. There is a remarkable place in his Book of the *Vanity of Idols*, in which *Cyprian* thus speaks of the Word and Son of God: ² *Therefore the Word and Son of God is sent as the Arbitrator and Master of this Indulgence, Grace and Discipline, who was preach'd by all the antient Prophets to be the Enlightner and Teacher of Mankind. This is the Power, the Reason, the Wisdom, the Glory of God. He came down into the Virgin, the Holy Spirit was clothed with Flesh. God was mixt with Man. This is our God, this the Christ.* Where I therefore embrace, [*Carnem Spiritus Sanctus induitur,*] as the true Reading, because we find it so in most of the very antient Manuscripts. But certain Novices (as I suppose) have corrupted the Text in some Copies, thinking forsooth, that *Spiritus Sanctus* can mean nothing but the third Person of the Trinity. But I have shewed elsewhere, that every Person of the Trinity, from the common Divine and spiritual Nature of them all, is called in Scripture, and frequently in the Writings of the Antients, Holy Spirit: A Note, which *Pamelius* tells us, is in the Margin of this place in some Manuscripts. ³ He however thought it proper to change the Reading, lest the *Anti-Trinitarians* should suck some Poison from it, and pretend that St. *Cyprian* did not own the third Person of the Deity. Vain Fear! It is abundantly plain from many places of St. *Cyprian*, (and we may truly affirm the same of the other Fathers, who have spoken after that manner,) that he believed the consubstantial Trinity entire. So in his Epistle to *Jubaianus* concerning the Baptization of Heretics, he

¹ Ep. 63. ad Cæcilium, p. 148 and 155.
etiam Rigaltium in notis Ed. fux, p. 173.

² p. 15.

³ Vide

proves Heretical Baptism invalid thus : ¹ *If any one could be Baptized by Heretics, he might also obtain Remission of Sins from them. If he obtained Remission of Sins, he was both sanctified, and made the Temple of God ; I ask of what God ? If of the Creator ; he could not, for he believed not in him. If of Christ ? neither could he be his, who denies Christ to be God. If of the Holy Spirit ; since these three are one, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an Enemy to the Father and Son ?* Here you see the Holy Spirit, as expressly called God, as the Father and Son. I've observed the same before from *Tertullian*. By the way, you may here take Notice that *Cyprian* has his Eye upon the first Epistle of *John*, ch. v. v. 7. *And these three are one.* He also professedly cites the place : *Concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost it is written, ² These three are one.* So before *Cyprian*, ³ *Tertullian* says : “ The Connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete makes three coherent Beings one of another ; which three are one Thing, not one Person.” This I note against those who suspect that the Catholics inserted these Words into the Text since the *Arian* Controversy. But to return ; *Cyprian* in the same place proves, that Baptism in the Name of Christ only is ineffectual from this, ⁴ *That Christ himself commands the Nations to be Baptized in the full united Trinity.* Here by the full united Trinity must be understood the three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as all subsisting in one Divinity, and therefore that the Holy Ghost, as well as the Son, is united to the Father in the same Communion of Divine Honour. *

¹ p. 203. ² De Unitate Eccl. p. 109. ³ Lib. adv. Prax. c. 25. ⁴ p. 206. * Dr. Whitby says that Baptism in the Name of Christ only was thought Valid, because the Acts of the Apostles affirm it was so administred : But I must desire leave to dissent from the Doctor in this. Ch. xix. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. of the Acts plainly shew, that St. Paul had such a Notion of Baptism being administred in the Name of the three, that he questioned whether they had been baptized into Christianity, who knew not the Holy Ghost ; and this notwithstanding, those who were so Baptized, were said to be Baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus. His other Authorities are as far from proving it as this, and St. Cyprian appears, for all the Doctor's Suggestion, to have better Reason for what he did, than the consideration of Party.

3. Against these clear and express places, *Sandius*,¹ that he may persuade his Reader that *Cyprian* favoured the *Arian* Heresy, cites, or rather hints at, some Sayings of his, which seem to look that way. But some of these relate to the Oeconomy of the Son, as that he ask'd to be glorified of the Father, and fulfilled his Will in drinking the Cup and suffering Death: Others are to be referred to the Subordination of the Son, as Son, to the Father, as his Author and Principle. Upon which Account also he saith, that the *Holy Ghost*² is inferior to the Son, i. e. he that is sent to him that sent him. The rest are mere Calumnies palmed upon the Holy Martyr by *Sandius*, as that *Cyprian* taught, *That he was brought forth out of the Mouth of the most High*. In the second Book of the *Testimonies* against the *Jews*, ch. 1. *Cyprian* intending to prove that Christ was the First-begotten, the Wisdom of God, by whom all Things were made, brings the Words of *Solomon*, *Prov. viii. v. 22*, to *v. 30*. inclusively, and then cites a Verse out of the 24th Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, in which are these Words; *I (Wisdom) came out of the Mouth of the most High before every Creature*.³ Who would hence conclude as *Sandius* doth, that *Cyprian* taught, Christ was brought forth, or made out of the Mouth of God, like the Word of Man, which exists not, before it is spoken, as the *Valentinians* and other Heretics held? But *Cyprian* in these very Books expressly teaches from the Scripture that the Son of God hath neither beginning, nor end of Existence, as I shall shew in the proper place. By the like Fraud the Sophister cites this Sentence, as *Cyprian's*,⁴ *That Christ durst not compare himself with God, nor was equal to him, but that the Father was greater*, subjoining, *Which Huetius grants to look towards Arianism*; and adds, *Namely, he thinks it Robbery that Christ be equal to God, that there is as much difference betwixt Christ and God, as betwixt the Apostles and Christ*. But let the honest Reader know, that these Words are found indeed in a Book entitled, *De Singularitate Clericorum*: "If

¹ Eneucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 112 and 113.² p. 213.³ p. 31.⁴ p. 11.

“ Christ durst compare himself with God, who says, *My Father is greater than I*; or if the Apostles durst compare themselves with, or make themselves equal to Christ, the like Strength with them makes us at this Day equal to the Apostles.” All learned Men agree, that this Book is spurious, and among them *Huetius*, whose Words in the place cited by *Sandius* are these: “ Those barbarous Words, such as you can no where find in St. Cyprian’s pure clean Style, shew this Work to be none of his: *Constitutionarios, repulsorium, vulgaritatis, fluxurum, probrositas*, &c. Who can call Cyprian the Parent of such Monsters?” See the egregious Candour of this Man! In the mean time the Words cited, whose-soever they are, will easily bear a sound Sense, and may be understood of Christ living upon Earth, and fulfilling the Oeconomy of our Salvation. Nay, it appears by what he says a little after, when he cites two Chapters of the Epistle to the *Philippians*, that this was his meaning. *Think this of your selves, which was in Christ Jesus, who being in the Form of God*, &c. Which place of St. Paul so rendered, plainly denotes, that Christ, as being in the Form of God, might without Arrogance, without any Injury to God his Father, think himself equal to God, and behave himself as such; but yet that he made himself of no Account, &c. *Sandius* also foully calumniates the Holy Man, whilst a little after he makes him guilty of this Heresy; *That the Word (in Christ) was instead of a Soul*: For it is the constant Doctrine of Cyprian, that the Word, or Son of God took upon him, not only Flesh, but Man, and the Son of Man, true and perfect Man of a reasonable Soul, and humane Flesh; a Thing every one knows, who knows St. Cyprian’s Writings.

4. But what Lover of Truth or Candor can with Patience bear the impudent Sophister, whilst from *Ruffinus* he endeavours to prove that Cyprian was an *Arian*? “ Wherefore, says he, *Ruffinus* in his Apology for *Origen* faith, that very many in those Parts (about *Constantinople*) were persuaded that the Martyr Cyprian, was of the same Faith with *Tertullian*, even where he was erroneous.

“ He

“ He indeed honoured *Tertullian* with the Title of Master,
 “ and was daily conversant in his Works : Now we have
 “ before said, that *Tertullian* held the *Arian* Faith.” And
 again ; “ It is plain from the Words of *Ruffinus* just afore-
 “ going, that *Arianism* and *Macedonianism* were meant by
 “ *Ruffinus* and the Orientals.” With what Face could
 he refer his Reader to the preceding Words of *Ruffinus* ?
 It will appear as clear as the Light, that he has cited him
 very basely. Behold, Reader, the entire place of *Ruffi-*
nus: “ All the Holy Martyr ¹ *Cyprian*’s Epistles were wont
 “ to be wrote in one Book. Some Heretics, who blas-
 “ pheme the Holy Spirit, have inserted in this Collection,
 “ a Book of *Tertullian*’s about the Trinity, not found in
 “ the Truth of our Faith, have taken many Copies of
 “ them (the Epistles and this Book thus put together)
 “ and dispersed them at a small Price through all the great
 “ City *Constantinople*, that Men drawn in by the Cheap-
 “ ness of them might buy the false deceitful Goods ; and
 “ that the Heretics by this Device, the Authority of so
 “ great a Man, might gain Credit to their false Faith.
 “ Yet it happened, that, whilst the Fact was fresh, some
 “ of our Catholic Brethren appeared to discover the Wick-
 “ edness, and to deliver some out of this Snare. Never-
 “ theless, very many in those Parts are of Opinion, that
 “ the Holy Martyr *Cyprian* was of that Faith, which *Ter-*
 “ *tullian* erroneously wrote.” Now any Man may see,
 that the *Constantinopolitan* Heretics were the *Pneumatoma-*
chi, who endeavoured to persuade others that *Cyprian*’s Faith
 was different from the Catholic ; and that they went about
 to prove this, from no genuine Work of his (for he had
 every where wrote Catholicly concerning the Trinity),
 but from a Book that was none of his, whom some base
 Men inserted into his Epistles, though the Catholics after-
 wards discovered it. And indeed no Ecclesiastical Au-
 thor says, that *Cyprian* ever wrote any Thing concerning
 the Trinity. Nor do I think, that the Book, these He-
 retics boasted of, was all *Tertullian*’s ; because he never was

¹ Ruffini Apol. pro Origene inter opera Hieronymi, Tom. 9. p. 137.

of the same Opinion with the *Pneumatomachi*, but constantly, even after his Fall into Heresy, believed the three Persons of the one Divinity, and expressly said, that *the Holy Spirit was as truly God as the Father and Son.*¹ But indeed the Catholics of that Age, were not much concerned for *Tertullian's* Reputation, as being then reckoned an Heretic, and an Alien from the Church, upon Account of other Doctrines. We may at most say the same of *Novatian*, whose Book concerning the Trinity, which was dispersed by Heretics, *Jerome*² thought that to be, which is extant among the Works of *Tertullian*. For he, as I shall shew quickly, was Catholic concerning the Trinity. By these and many other such Tokens the Reader may understand what it is for *Sandius* to give the Marrow or Kernel of Ecclesiastical History, namely, to gather from all Parts, and pack up together exploded and insipid Stories, for procuring Credit and Authority to the condemned Heresy of *Arius*. So much for *Cyprian*.

5. *Novatian*, or the Author of a Book concerning the Trinity, which we spoke of before, comes next after *Cyprian*. *Petavius* says³ that this Author hath not spoken accurately enough concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, nay, that he has generally treated of it absurdly. And *Sandius* trusting too much to *Petavius* (as his Custom is) musters him among the *Arians*. But I shall shew in the proper place that those inaccurate and absurd Things either relate to the Oeconomy of the Son, or his Subordination to the Father, as his Author and Principle, a Point held even by the *Post-Nicene* Fathers. In the mean time we shall prove from a few Passages, and very clear ones, that this Author in the main was no *Arian*. To this Proof I premise one Observation, that *Petavius* himself does in express Words own,⁴ that those inaccurate and absurd Things in this Author do only differ from the Catholic Rule in the way of speaking, or enter not into the Substance of the Mystery. This observed, let us come to the Point. In the

¹ See the Citations from him above. ² Apolog. adv. Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 5. sub finem. ³ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 5. n. 5. Enuch. Hist. lib. 1. p. 110. ⁴ Pref. in Tom. 2. c. 5. n. 3.

23d Chapter he proves Christ's Divinity thus: ¹ "If Christ was only Man, how doth he say, *I came forth from God*, &c. whereas it is plain that Man was made by God, did not proceed from him? But though Man did not proceed from God, the Word of God did proceed from him." Again; "Therefore God proceeded from God, whilst the Word that proceeded is God, who proceeded from God." What is there in the *Nicene* Creed more express against *Arius*! For the Author expressly opposes [*to be made of God*] and [*to proceed from God*] and no less clearly affirms, that Christ, in his more excellent Nature was not made, nor created, but proceeded from very God, and therefore is God of God. A little after in the same Chapter he says: ² "If Christ be only Man, what is it that he says, *I and the Father are one*? For how can I and the Father be one, if he be not both God, and the Son, who therefore may be called one, as being of him, and being his Son, and being born of him, and found to have proceeded from him, by which he is God?" From this place *Petavius's* Columny against the Author of this Book is clearly confuted, in which he says, that he hath explained those Words, *I and the Father are one*, almost in the *Arian* manner; and to prove it, cites these Words: ³ "In that he says One, it belongs to Concord, Purpose, and Society of Love; so that the Father and Son are truly one by Concord, Affection and Love." But from the place just alledged by us it is plain, that the Author, with all Catholics, understood the Words of St. *John*, not of Concord, or Consent of Will alone (as the *Arians* did) but also, and chiefly of a Communion of Substance, which is betwixt the Father and the Son. This the Author hath also express'd clearly enough in the Words immediately following those cited by *Petavius* (but unfairly concealed by him): "And ⁴ because he is of the Father, whatsoever he is, he is the Son; the Distinction still remaining that he cannot be the Father, who is the Son, nor he the

¹ Tertullian, *Parif.* 1675. p. 721. ² p. 722. ³ p. 720. ⁴ *Ibid.*

"Son, who is the Father." Indeed he opposes the Heresy of *Sabellius* only, which so calls the Father and Son one, as to take away the Distinction of Persons. Against this Heresy he teaches, that the Father and Son are one both in Consent of Will, and in Unity of Substance; for as much as the Son is derived from the very Essence of the Father, and yet they are two in Person or Subsistence. The unfair Dealing of the Jesuit *Petavius* is really intolerable; he every where wrests the sound and catholic Meaning of the Antients into strange Heretical Senses. *

6. But I return to our Author, from whom I will cite one other plain Passage in Confirmation of the Son's Consubstantiality, where he thus speaks of both the Natures, the Divine and Humane Nature of Christ: "For the Scripture¹ as well declares God Christ, as Man God. It has as well described the Man Jesus Christ, as the God Christ our Lord. For it doth not only propose him as the Son of God, but of Man also; nor only speaks of him as of Man, but of God also; so that being of both, he is both, least if he was only one, he could not be the other. For as Nature has taught that we should think him to be really in Nature Man, who is of Man; so the same Nature hath taught that we should believe him to be God, who is of God: Least, if he should not be God, though of God, he should not also be Man, though of Man; and both of them should be in hazard, each from the other, whilst the one is shewn to destroy the Credit of the other." Surely there is no Man of any Sense, who does not immediately perceive that in these Words it is plainly taught, Christ is as truly Consubstantial with the Father, as God, as he is

* Dr. Clark, Whitby, and the Author of the Answer to the Queries may take their Share of this Censure. All of them have made *Petavius's* Choice, and though it is to be wondered how that could escape them, which lies in so small a Compass as *Novatian's* whole Book, they have either never seen, or studiously concealed, what alone could clear the Author's Sense. It is here fairly represented, and I hope he may still deserve Dr. Clark's Character, (*Scripture-Doctrine*, p. 106 and 435.) A very antient Writer, and the most judicious among the Antients.

¹ P. 713.

Consubstantial with Man, as Man; and that he is no less true God, than he is true Man. Over and above I will add, that this Author's Opinion of the Holy Ghost was also Catholic. For in the beginning of the 29th Chapter he informs us, that we must believe according to the *Rule of Faith*, not only ¹ in the Father and the Son, but also in the Holy Ghost. And in the Process of the Chapter he attributes those Powers and Operations to the Holy Spirit, which are not compatible with a Creature. Lastly, toward the end of the same Chapter, he ascribes in Terms a Divine Eternity to the same Spirit. I've shew'd in another place, ² how he says that the Spirit is inferior to the Son. But of this Author, no more at present.

7. I shall reckon *Theognostus Alexandrinus* among the Writers of this Age, although I can't find out his particular time. This however we may know, that he was much more antient than the *Nicene* Council, though of later Date than *Origen*. It is certain he was later than *Origen*, because *Photius* lashes him as a Disciple of his. We may also conclude, that he was long before the *Nicene* Council, because *Athanasius* ³ places him among the *old Men*, and alway subjoins his Testimony to *Origen's*. ⁴ The same *Athanasius* calls him an eloquent and an admirable Man. He wrote some Books of Expositions, which are lost; but from the second of them *Athanasius* cites a noble Fragment for the Consubstantiality: ⁵ "The Essence of the
" Son is not something externally invented, nor something
" brought into Being from nothing; but it came from
" the Essence of the Father, as Splendor from Light, or
" Vapour from Water. For neither the Splendor, nor the
" Vapour is the very Water, or the Sun; nor is the Es-
" sence of the Son something different from the Father,
" but the Efflux of the Father's Essence, that same Essence
" of the Father, not admitting Division. For as the Sun
" remains the same, and is not lessened by the Rays it
" sends forth, so the Essence of the Father undergoes no

¹ p. 727, 728. ² Ch. 3, §. 17. ³ p. 702. Athan. Oper. Ed. Bened.
⁴ Ibid. & 230. ⁵ p. 230.

" Change,

“ Change, though * it sends forth the Son, its Image.”¹ Surely nothing was ever said more direct against the *Arians*, even in the venerable Session of the *Nicene* Fathers.

8. That therefore cannot be true, which *Photius* ¹ writes (and which not only *Sandius*, but the very learned *Huetius* gives Credit to), namely, that this *Theognostus* in that very second Book of his Expositions, which *Athanasius* cites, taught that the Son of God, as he is properly the Son of God, is a Creature. Nay, *Photius* himself destroys his own Credit, whilst he says, in the same Chapter, near the end, that *Theognostus* affirmed the Son not to be circumscribed in his Power; what can't be said of any Creature. Yea, the same Person a little after owns, That in his 7th Book *Theognostus* treated upon other Matters, more piously, and especially towards the end of his Discourse, upon the Son of God. It must be something extraordinary, which *Photius* would thus commend. And who can believe that such a noted Person as *Theognostus* would so grossly contradict himself in the same Work? The Matter is this. *Photius* had so thorough an Hatred against *Origen*, that he could not spare his Follower and Defender *Theognostus*, and therefore censured his Writings. *Theognostus* spoke the Opinion of those with whom he disputed, did not declare his own. This *Photius* hints, and not obscurely, who after he had accused him of this Blasphemy, quickly brings in a certain Person defending him, as having proposed those Things for Disputation's sake, not as his own Thoughts. Now *Photius* does not deny this, but only blames that way of disputing, at least about Divine Mysteries, and in Writing: A fault, which I doubt not he would have pardoned in any other Author, but an *Origenist*. But *Athanasius* puts this Matter beyond Controversy, who after reciting the Testimony of *Theognostus* above alledged, immediately adds: ² *Theognostus* then having first examined it by way of Disputation or Exercise, then gives us his Opinion in the Words. It is manifest then, that

* *Εχρησται*. I was fond of reading *Χρησται*.
Eneucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 109. Origenian. p. 45.

¹ Phot. Cod. 106.

² Vide supra.

Theognostus, in his 2d Book Of *Expositions*, first proposed the Opinions of the Heterodox, and amongst them, their Opinion, who said that the Son of God was a Creature, and that, so as to personate them, and plead their Cause; but then at last, that he delivered his own Catholic Judgment, and that opposite to theirs, in the Words produced by *Athanasius*.

9. What *Photius* ¹ further objects to *Theognostus*, that he had taught, That the Son of God only presided over rational Creatures, is easily confuted. The Holy Man never meant that the Government of the Son should be so confined to rational Creatures only, as that the rest should be exempted. God forbid: For how could he restrain the Divine Providence of the Son of God from any Creature, who (according to *Photius* himself) hath said that the Son of God is in no wise circumscribed in Power? What then? Without doubt *Theognostus* intended the same as his Master *Origen*, whom *Photius* reports to have taught, *That the Father pervades all Things, the Son the rational Creatures, and the Holy Ghost only those that are saved.* How these Words are to be understood, *Huetius* ² informs us: “ Taken strictly, they can scarce escape Censure: But if
 “ any one attends more to *Origen*’s Meaning than his
 “ Words, he will think otherwise. For though the ex-
 “ ternal Acts of the sacred Trinity are one and the same;
 “ and though what the Father does, that the Son and
 “ Holy Ghost do also; yet some Things are usually as-
 “ signed to the Father, some to the Son, and some to the
 “ Holy Ghost. As then the Creation of all Things is
 “ commonly attributed to the Father, though it equally
 “ belongs to all the Three; so *Origen* ascribes the Care of
 “ all Rationals to the Son, who is the Reason; and the
 “ bestowing of Holiness to the Holy Ghost, (as the Apo-
 “ stle *St. Paul* ³ does), although it is due to the whole
 “ Trinity. It is written by *St. Peter*, ⁴ *According to the*
 “ *Fore-knowledge of God the Father, through Sanctification of*

¹ Cod. 8. ² Origenian. lib. 2. p. 46, 47. ³ Rom. i. v. 4.
⁴ 2 Thess. ii. v. 13. ⁵ 1 Pet. i. v. 2.

“ the Spirit, unto the Obedience and Sprinkling of the Blood of
 “ Jesus Christ”. *Huetius* proves this clearly to have been
Origen’s Meaning by Citations out of his own Books. To
 which he subjoins a remarkable Passage from *Paschasius*
Diaconus ¹, in which he makes use of *Origen’s* Opinion, as
 his own: “ As far as is manifestly to be found in Holy
 “ Scripture, the Father doth some Things by himself,
 “ others specially by his Son, and others by the Holy
 “ Ghost, tho’ under the Privilege of a common Power.
 “ That we are, is properly owing to the Father, *in whom*,
 “ as the Apostle speaks, *we live and move, and have our Be-*
 “ *ing*; that we are capable of Reason, Wisdom and Ju-
 “ stice, is referred to him, who is Reason, Wisdom and
 “ Justice, *i. e.* to the Son; that being called, we are re-
 “ generated, and being renewed, we are justified, is evi-
 “ dently ascribed to the Person of the Holy Ghost, by
 “ the Word of God.” He adds a famous Passage of St.
² *Austin*: “ As we properly call the Word of God only
 “ by the Name of Wisdom, though, universally speaking,
 “ the Father and the Spirit are also Wisdom; so the Holy
 “ Spirit is properly called Love, though universally the
 “ Father and the Son are Love.” But what the same
 learned *Huetius* says, that *Athanasius* had exploded *Origen*
 and his Follower *Theognostus* for such Sayings, is not true.
 For *Athanasius* only admonishes us to consider well both
 their Sayings, and seek for a more profound Sense than
 they at first exhibit. His Words are these: ³ “ But I
 “ think in my small Judgment, that both their Notions
 “ require a tolerable Trial and Consideration, whether
 “ there is not a more deep Sense hidden in their Words.”
 Surely this is not to explode *Origen* and *Theognostus* for
 what they have said. Now *Huetius* hath discovered to us
 this more profound Sense. So much for *Theognostus’s* Faith
 and Opinion.

¹ Lib. 1. de Sp. Sancto, c. 9. ² Lib. 15. de Trin. c. 17. ³ p. 703.
 Tom. 1. p. 2.

Dr. GRABE's *Annotations concerning St. Cyprian and the Citation of St. John, 1 Epist. ch. v. v. 7.*

THO' the reverend and learned Dr. *Bull* hath cited all the Testimonies of Christ's Divinity, which we have in the Treatises of St. *Cyprian*, we may add to them the Suffrage of *Euchratius à Thenis*, in the Council of *Carthage*, where *Cyprian* presided, and whose Acts, or the Opinions of the Bishops are in his Works. There, *Number 29.* are these Words of *Euchratius*:¹ " God, even
" our Lord Jesus Christ, fully taught the Apostles with
" his own Mouth our Faith, the Grace of Baptism, and
" the Rule of the Ecclesiastical Law, saying, *Go and*
" *teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Fa-*
" *ther, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*" Upon which Account he rejects the Baptism of Heretics, *out of whose Mouths, Poison, not Life, not heavenly Grace, but Blasphemy against the Trinity proceeds.* Here, as in the Epistles of St. *Cyprian*, is the Word Trinity, and the Title of *God our Lord*, ascribed to Jesus Christ. Against that which our very learned Author has observed, namely, that St. *Cyprian*, as well as *Tertullian*, has cited the Place of St. *John* concerning the three Witnesses, the Authority of a later *African* Bishop might be objected, namely, *Facundus Herimianensis*:² " The Apostle *John* thus speaks in his
" Epistle concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy
" Ghost: *There are three that bear witness on Earth,*
" *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, and these three are*
" *one, &c.*" After which he proceeds to shew that by the Spirit was meant the Father, by the Water, the Holy Spirit, and by the Blood, the Son. Again, he says, " Which
" Testimony of the Apostle *John*, the Blessed *Cyprian*,
" Bishop of *Carthage* and Martyr, in his Epistle or Book
" which he wrote concerning the Trinity, understands

¹ P. 235.

² Lib. 1. Defensionis trium Capitulorum.

“ of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For he says, *I*
 “ *and the Father are one*; and again, of the Father, Son,
 “ and Holy Spirit, it is written, *And these three are one.*”
 From this one might conclude that not only *Facundus*
 did not own the Words of St. *John* concerning the three
 Witnesses in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spi-
 rit; but also thought that St. *Cyprian* had not cited them,
 but referred to the mystical Exposition of the three Wit-
 nesses on Earth, which he hath given. But I opposeto
Facundus, another *African* Writer, something more anti-
 ent, and no less learned, namely *Fulgentius Ruspenfis*, ‘ who
 not only cites the controverted Verse of St. *John*, but
 also says it was cited in the Place we are speaking of by
 St. *Cyprian*: “ The Blessed Apostle *John* witnesseth, say-
 “ ing, *There are three that bear Witness in Heaven, the Fa-*
 “ *ther, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.* Which
 “ also the Blessed Martyr *Cyprian* confesses in his Book of
 “ *the Unity of the Church.*” From that Book he cites the
 Words of *Cyprian*, and indeed more truly than *Facundus*,
 who by Mistake cites the Book or Epistle concerning the
 Trinity. *Cyprian* then plainly own’d the Words of St.
John of the three Witnesses in Heaven, as *Fulgentius* says,
 and as he plainly shews, that he himself read them in the
African Copies. *Tertullian*’s Case is the same with St. *Cy-*
prian’s.

2. But whatsoever may be determin’d from the *Afri-*
can Copies of the New Testament used by *Tertullian* and
 St. *Cyprian*, I believe St. *John* in the Original wrote those
 Words about the Witnesses in Heaven, and having this
 opportunity, I offer the Arguments which have induced
 me to it, to the Consideration of such as are of a diffe-
 rent Opinion. (1.) The controverted Place contains no-
 thing, but what St. *John* hath elsewhere taught, namely,
 in his Gospel, or rather mentioned as taught by Christ.
 He names three that bear Witness of Christ, the Father,
 the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and adds, that these three
 are one. Now concerning the first Witness, Our Saviour

‡ In Lib. de. Trin. ad. Felicem Notarium, c. 4.

faith, *John v. 37. He that sent me, the Father, he hath born Witness of me*; namely, by the Voice from Heaven, in the Baptism of Christ: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Concerning the first and second Witness jointly, St. *John* has recorded the following Saying of our Lord's. *I am one, who bear Witness of my self, and the Father that sent me, beareth Witness of me.* Of the third Witness the Holy Spirit, our Saviour saith, *He shall bear Witness of me.* Now that these three are one, the beloved Disciple had in like Manner learnt from the Mouth of his Lord, saying, *I and the Father are one.* Hence it is manifest, that not only the Sense, but the Words, are found in St. *John's* Gospel, though in different Places. Why then might he not write the same Thing in his Epistle? Nay, I can by no means persuade my self, that St. *John* professedly Writing of those that bear Witness to Christ, named the three earthly Witnesses, but passed over in Silence the three Heavenly ones, of greater, of the greatest, of infallible Authority; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whose Testimony he well knew our Lord appealed. (2.) St. *John* himself has shewn that he alledged the Testimony of the Father concerning the Son, in the following Words. *If ye receive the Witness of Men, the Witness of God is greater; and this is the Witness of God, which he hath witnessed concerning his Son.* Now if the controverted Place be taken out of the Text, there is no preceding Testimony of God the Father, to urge in the Verse just recited. For if with some Interpreters we understand the Spirit to be that, which our dying Lord commended into the Hands of his Father, the Blood and Water to be what issued out of his Side when dead, and demonstrated the Truth of his humane Nature, it is plain these can't be called the Testimony of God the Father. But if (which is my Opinion, and which I shall largely explain and prove elsewhere) St. *John*, alledging a threefold Testimony, not for confirming the Truth of our Lord's humane Nature, but his Divine Doctrine, did hereby signify the threefold Baptism (as Divines usually call it) of *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*; i. e. the Gifts
of

of the Spirit shed abroad upon the Believers; especially the Spirit of Prophecy, which is expressly called by the Angel, *the Testimony of Jesus*; the Baptism of Water, which they who receive into the Name of Christ, give public Testimony to him; lastly, the shedding of Blood for the Name of Christ, which was called Martyrdom in the beginnings of the Church, and those who bore this Testimony *Martyrs*; if, I say, this Opinion be received, then again, these are not the Testimonies of God, but of Men. For they are Men, though acted by the Holy Spirit, and though they confirm their own Faith, and that of others by Prophecy, Baptism, or Blood. Therefore whilst the Apostle inculcated the Testimony of God, he had respect to the Witnesses immediately before named, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. (3.) Lastly, those Words [*in Earth*] added to the three Witnesses, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, would be altogether superfluous, unless there was a precedent or consequent mention of other Witnesses in Heaven. And hence I suppose it is, that in some Copies, in which the Member, which speaks of three that bear Witness in Heaven, is wanting, the words [*on Earth*] are omitted.

3. The chief, nay, almost the only Thing, which is objected against this Saying of the Apostle, is the scarcity of Copies, and indeed the more antient ones, in which this was written, or is now found. It was not in the Copy of the *Syriac* Version, and many others used by the Fathers of the fourth and fifth Centuries, as we may gather from their never citing it, in any of their genuine Writings, against those Heretics who denied the Deity of the Son, or Holy Spirit. Nor is it now in the *Alexandrian* Manuscript, and other Books of very good note; and in those, where it is read, it is various, plac'd generally in another Order, namely, subjoined to the Verse concerning the three Witnesses on Earth. But I answer that all these Things don't demonstrate that these Words of the three Witnesses in Heaven, were not written by St. *John*; but only prove, that not long after, they were omitted by some hasty negligent Scribe, and thence the

mutilated

mutilated Text translated it self into many Copies. Now there appears the same Reason of this Omission, as of almost all we meet with, in either sacred or profane Writings, namely, the Repetition of the same Words [there are three that bear Witness] and [are one]. But that the Reader may see that the same Thing has happened in other Places of Scripture, and indeed of St. *John*, I will bring two parallel Examples out of *Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian*, by whose Writings the Authority of the dubious Testimony before us is proved. In the Council of *Carthage*, over which St. *Cyprian* presided, these Words are, as cited from St. *John* Ch. iii. v. 6. *What is born of the Flesh is Flesh; and what is born of the Spirit is Spirit. For God is a Spirit, and born of God.* ¹ In the same manner *Tertullian* alledges it. If therefore we may make a Judgment from their Copies, and others; after those words in St. *John's* Gospel, [what is born of the Spirit is Spirit] were these, [For God is a Spirit, and born of God]; but by Reason both Members ended with *is*, the latter came to be omitted. In like manner St. *Cyprian* hath cited the following Words of our Saviour in the Gospel: ² *There shall not be left in the Temple one Stone upon another, which shall not be dissolved, and after three Days another shall be raised up without Hands.* Which Words are not to be found entire in any Editions of the Gospel, in which indeed *Mark* xiii. 2. you may see the former Words, *One Stone shall not be left upon another, which shall not be dissolved, or destroyed*; but the latter you can only find, in any that I know, in the *Cambridge* Greek Manuscript, thus expressed; *And in three Days another shall be raised up without Hands.* But that these were the very Words of St. *Mark*, the History of the same St. *Mark* concerning the false Witnesses against Christ, scarce suffers me to doubt, in which he reports in the following Chapter xiv. 58. that some said that they had heard from Christ: *I will destroy this Temple made with Hands, and in three Days I will build another made without Hands.* Which last are the very Words

¹ Cypr. p. 231. Tert. p. 321. ² Cypr. p. 25.

before cited, and no were recorded, but in that Place of *St. Mark*; but omitted by Reason of the Particle $\kappa\iota$ recurring ($\kappa\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha$ and $\kappa\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$) by some antient hasty negligent Scribes, and therefore only preserved in a few Copies.

4. But to satisfy those also, who grant that the controverted Words of *St. John* were not so much as cited by *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, or any other antient; I will instance in two other Verses of the New Testament, which are not extant in the printed Copies, or in many very antient Manuscripts, nor cited by the Holy Fathers; which I am persuaded, notwithstanding, were written by the Apostles themselves, because there appears no Reason of adding them, but the same occasion of omitting, as I have shewed in the Places aforesaid. Thus *St. John*: ¹ *He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, remaineth in me, and I in him*; Now in the old *Cambridge Manuscript* we have these Words subjoined: *As the Father is in me, and I in the Father*; *Verily, verily, I say unto you, unless ye receive the Body of the Son of Man, as the Bread of Life, you have no Life in you.* In like manner, in the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Hebrews*, *Ch. xi.* this Member is put in betwixt the 23 and 24 Verse in some Copies, (as *Curcellanus* witnesseth) *Moses being strong in Faith, killed the Egyptian, considering the Oppression of his Brethren.* Who does not perceive that the former Member was lost by reason of the Words $\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ or $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$ recurring, and the latter by reason of the Repetition of $\omega\iota\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ Μωϋσῆς $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$? And why might not the same Thing have happened in the controverted Place of *St. John*? Neither do the Instances of Defects in the Copies of Divine Writ, detract from God's Providence in preserving it. It is sufficient that there are some Books, or Copies, by which we can supply those Defects. To say no more, it is sufficient that those Places do not at all belong to the Confirmation of necessary Articles of Faith, or are not necessary, because the Truth of those Articles may be proved by many other Testimonies of the sacred Writers, which are entire.

¹ *Ch. vi. v. 56.*

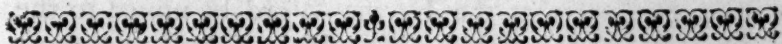
OF NOVATIAN.

AFTER *Novatian* hath fully declared the Deity of Christ in the Passages cited by the Reverend Dr. Bull, he proves the same largely from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. It may be useful to transcribe the chief Places, to shew that the antient Fathers of the Church formerly defeated Heretics with the same Weapons, with which we attack them, and that they held the Doctrine of Christ's Divinity, as necessary to Salvation. ¹ Thus *Novatian* begins the 12th Ch. "Why then should we doubt to say what the Scripture saith? Why should the Truth of Faith hesitate, where the Authority of Scripture never did? Behold the Prophet *Hosea* says in the Person of the Father: *I will not save them by the Bow, nor the Horses, nor the Horse-men; but I will save them by the Lord their God.* If God doth not save, but by God, and God doth not save but by Christ, why should Man doubt to call Christ God, whom he observes to be called God by the Father in Scripture: Nay, if God the Father doth not save but by God, nor any one can be saved by God the Father, unless he confess Christ to be God, in whom, and by whom the Father promises to give Salvation; as he may surely find Salvation in Christ God, who acknowledges him to be God; so he who does not acknowledge him to be God, will lose that Salvation which no one can find in any other, but Christ God." A little after he has cited *Isaiah* concerning *Immanuel*, and argu'd upon it for the Deity of Christ, he proceeds thus: ² "The same Prophet saith, *Strengthen ye the weak Hands, and confirm the feeble Knees, say to them that are of a fearful Heart, be strong, fear not, Behold, your God will come with Vengeance, he will come and save us; then the Eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the Ears of the deaf shall hear, &c.* If the Prophet saith,

¹ P. 713.² P. 714

“ these Signs shall be at the coming of the Lord, which
 “ are come to pass, either let them acknowledge Christ to
 “ be the Son of God, at whose coming, or by whom these
 “ Signs of healing were performed ; or over-come by the
 “ Truth of the Divinity of Christ, and rushing into the
 “ other Heresy, whilst they are unwilling to confess Christ
 “ to be the Son of God and God, they will confess him
 “ to be the Father. For being constrained by the Words
 “ of the Prophets they can’t deny Christ to be God.”
 After the same manner he argues from *Habbacuc* : God
 shall come from the West, and the Holy one from the
 dark and thick Mountain. I will only add one Place
 out of the 13th *Ch.* in which are contained the Passages
 taken out of the New Testament, and the Arguments up-
 on them. ¹ “ If none but God can see the Secrets of the
 “ Heart, Christ sees them; if none but God can forgive
 “ Sins, Christ forgives them; if no Man can come down
 “ from Heaven, Christ came down; if no Man can say,
 “ *I and the Father are one*, Christ only says it out of a
 “ Consciousness of his Divinity; if lastly, the Apostle
 “ *St. Thomas* furnished with all the Proofs, and Properties
 “ of God, answers and says to Christ, *My Lord, and my*
 “ *God*; if the Apostle *St. Paul* writes in his Epistle, *Of*
 “ *whom are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the Flesh*
 “ *Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever*; if the
 “ same Person derives his Apostolate not from Men nor
 “ by Men, but by Jesus Christ; if he says and contends
 “ that he received not the Gospel from Men, nor by Man,
 “ but by Jesus Christ; Christ is truly God.” Collate
 what he saith below, *Ch.* xxx. ²

¹ p. 714.² p. 728.



C H A P. XI.

*Of the Consent of the two Dionysii with the
Nicene Fathers.*

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Rome, ¹ called, whilst he was yet a *Presbyter*, *An eloquent and admirable Man* by *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, flourish'd in the Reign of *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. *Petavius* blames nothing in his *Fragments* as *Arian*, but praises him as truly Catholic about the Trinity. Nay, *Sandius*, who has ransack'd all Antiquity, to serve the *Arian* Cause never so little, has very prudently passed over this Writer both in his *Book of Ecclesiastical Writers*, and in his *Kernel of Church History*. However, we will produce his Suffrage, that our Reader who is a Lover of Truth, may be acquainted with so eminent a Witness and Defender of the Catholic Faith. He wrote a learned Epistle against the *Sabellians*, which is lost, but *Athanasius* hath preserved us a pretty long Fragment of it, as good as Gold, in which we have the most perfect Confession of the Trinity. ² For after *Dionysius* hath refused the Doctrine of *Sabellius*, he thus disputes against the contrary Heresy: "I may justly speak against them
" also, who divide, split, and destroy the most venerable
" Doctrine of the Church of God, making the Monarchy three certain Powers, separate Subsistences, and
" three Deities. For I'm persuaded that some of the Catechists and Preachers of God's Word teach this Opinion; Men diametrically opposite to the Heresy of *Sabellius*. For he blasphemes in saying that the Son is the
" Father: They on the other hand, preach up three Gods,
" after a sort, dividing the sacred One into three Hypo-

¹ Euseb. E. H. p. 107. ² p. 231. Vol. 1. Tom. 1.

“ stases, alien one from another, and wholly separate, For
 “ it is necessary that the Divine Word be united to the
 “ God of the Universe. The Holy Ghost also must
 “ closely adhere to and abide in God. And it is also ab-
 “ solutely necessary that the sacred Three be summed up,
 “ and gathered together into one, as a certain Centre, that
 “ is into the Almighty God of the Universe.” These
 Words are so clear, that there is no need by any Dedu-
 ction to shew, how plainly and fully the Doctrine of the
 Trinity is explained against all Heresy whatsoever. The
 same Person a little after subjoins these Words, against those
 who say that the Son is a Creature : ¹ “ Nor can one less
 “ blame those who think the Son to be a Creature, and
 “ are of Opinion that the Lord was made after the man-
 “ ner of other created Things; whereas the Divine Word
 “ ascribes to him a decent and proper Generation, but not
 “ a Formation or Creation.” He immediately adds these
 Words : “ It is no common, but the greatest Blasphemy,
 “ after a sort to say, that the Lord was made with Hands.”
 Lastly, After a good many Things worthy Reading, he
 thus concludes : ² “ We ought not therefore either to di-
 “ vide the wonderful Divine Unity into three Deities,
 “ or to mutilate the Dignity and excellent Greatness of our
 “ Lord, by saying that he is created ; but to believe in
 “ God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son,
 “ and in the Holy Ghost, and to believe that the Word is
 “ united to the God of the Universe. For, says he, *I*
 “ *and the Father are one* : And, *I in the Father, and the Fa-*
 “ *ther in me*. So would the Divine Trinity, and the sa-
 “ cred Doctrine of the Monarchy be preserved.” Who
 could have wrote any Thing better against *Arianism*, or
 any other Heresy concerning the Trinity, even after the
Nicene Council ? But I shall say more of *Dionysius Roma-*
nus's Faith, in my Discourse upon *Dionysius Alexandrinus*.

2. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, called the Great by ³ *Eusebius*,
Basil, ⁴ and others, was not only of the same Name, but

¹ p. 231. the end of the Page.

² p. 232, and in the end of the
 Citation. ³ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 7. ch. 1. p. 204. ⁴ Basil. Ep.

Canon. ad Amphilech.

also Contemporary with *Dionysius Romanus*, and the History of them both is so wove together in the Point before us, that it cannot be fully related a-part. The *Arians* have heretofore greatly boasted of this Person, as one of theirs, with good Reason, if we believe the late *Sandius*; ¹ but in Truth, with no Reason at all. But first let us hear what *Sandius* has wrote concerning him: "He taught, says he, that the Son of God was a Creature, not of the same proper natural Substance of the Father, but of another different and strange Nature; in such a Relation to him, as the Vine has to the Husbandman, or the Barge to the Ship-Carpenter; for he says of him, as being a Creature, he was not before he was made." That you may know from whom *Sandius* learnt his Lesson, he soon adds: "*Huetius* says that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* ² uttered unworthy and intolerable Things concerning the Trinity, namely, that the Son was a Creature of the Father's, made unlike him, and in Substance a Stranger to him, as the Husbandman to the Vine; and that, as he was a Creature, he was not before he was made; that he spoke Words also not becoming the Holy Spirit." Again, ³ he reports him "To have falsely and absurdly commented upon the Trinity; and therefore that his Name-sake *Dionysius Petavius* very justly ranks him with those, who before *Arius*, taught the same Doctrines which he did." At length he concludes thus: "It was not without Reason therefore that they boasted of *Dionysius's* Consent, in the Presence of "*Athanasius*." Thus *Sandius*.

3. But, this notwithstanding, we are not afraid to assert, that the *Arians* not only rashly and falsely, but very imprudently, and to the ruin of their Cause appealed to *Dionysius*; nay, we contend, that there is scarce any Thing in the Ecclesiastical History of those Affairs, which were done before the Council of *Nice*, more prejudicial to the *Arians*, than the History of this *Dionysius* truly related. I

¹ Enecl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 122.
§. 10, 23.

² Cap. 3. §. 6.

³ Origenian. lib. 2. c. 2. q. 2.

will therefore give it you true and short. When the *Sabellian* Heresy prevailed more and more daily in *Egypt* and *Pentapolis*, from whence it sprung, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* wrote against it to *Euphranor* and *Ammonius*. Whilst he was solicitous very accurately to distinguish the Persons, he seemed to go into the other extreme; namely, not only to have distinguish'd the Divine Persons, ascribing to every one his Properties, but also to have divided them in Substance, and even to have denied the Consubstantiality of the Son. For this he was accused to the Bishop of *Rome*, then *Dionysius*, for violating the Faith; and when a Synod of Bishops was held at *Rome* in that Cause, being ask'd to declare his Opinion, he wrote an Apology to the said Bishop of *Rome*, in which he defended himself from the Calumnies brought against him, excellently guarded the Doctrine of the Consubstantiality, and satisfied the Bishop of *Rome* in all Points. That these Things were so, *Athanasius* witnesseth, who was afterwards Bishop of the same Church, not only in his Account of the Synods of *Rimini* and *Seleucia*,¹ but especially in a Book professedly wrote against the *Arians*, who boasted that *Dionysius* was formerly of their Opinion. He refutes them, shews that *Dionysius* was Orthodox in all Parts of the Catholic Faith, and had clearly explained in his other succeeding Writings, and in this very Epistle to *Ammonius* and *Euphranor*, what he had expressed ambiguously in it; but especially in what he wrote to *Dionysius Romanus*, consisting (as *Eusebius* and *Jerome* say) of four Books. But they that knew not these Things, and had not read *Athanasius's* Defence of *Dionysius*, doubted not, after this, to accuse him of assisting the *Arians*. Thus *Basil* and *Gennadius* of *Marseilles*; although *Basil*,² I suppose being better informed, has mentioned him with Honour, as an Orthodox Man. But *Ruffinus*³ of *Aquileia* was deceived in thinking, that the Works of *Dionysius* were corrupted and depraved by the *Arians*. For *Athanasius* pretends no such

¹ p. 243 and 716. ² Ad Amphiloeh. de Sp. S. c. 29. ³ Apolog. pro Origene.

Thing in his Defence of him, but shews that they remained entire and whole, as they were written by him; and that by them it appeared he was Orthodox. Thus for the most part *Baronius* has in short given us the History.

4. In this History there are two Things especially observable; (1.) That *Dionysius* never wrote what the *Pentapolitans* objected against him, namely, That the Son of God, as he is properly the Son of God, is a Creature; that he always acknowledged him to be Consubstantial and Homogeneous with the Father. *Athanasius* proves this first, from the Title of the Book, which he wrote to *Dionysius Romanus*.¹ The Words of *Athanasius* are these: "First of all he inscribes his Epistle *Refutatory* and "*Apologetical*; and what does this mean, but to refute "those, who had spoken falsely, and apologize for what "he had wrote, by shewing that he had not wrote according to *Arius's* Notion, and that though he made "mention of what is humanely spoken of the Lord, he "knew him to be the Word and Wisdom of the Father, "and not divisible from him." And indeed, if *Dionysius* had ever really thought, as the *Pentapolitans* objected against him, the very pious Man would not have inscribed his Answer to the Objections *A Refutation and Defence*, but a Confession and a Retracting. For that *Dionysius* did not openly defend the Blasphemies objected against him, is plain from the very Apology; nor if he had done so, could he ever have cleared himself to *Dionysius Romanus*, who was, as is shewn before, a Man peculiarly Catholic in the Article of the Trinity. Again, *Athanasius* proves the same, because *Dionysius* complains openly in his Apology, that his Adversaries had not recited his Words honestly, but had curtailed and mangled the same, and out of them, so used, had formed the Heretical Propositions objected against him. The Words of *Athanasius* immediately following those afore-cited are express: ² "Afterwards "he accuses those who objected against him, as not reading his Words entire, but cutting them off; and as, not

¹ P. 253. Tom. 1. p. 1.

² Ibid.

" with

“with a good, but an evil Conscience, speaking what they will; and he likens them to those, who calumniated the Epistles of the blessed Apostles. Such a Complaint of unfair Usage, plainly frees him from all foul Suspicion.” Lastly, *Athanasius* particularly shews, that *Dionysius* had answered to every single Objection against him, and proved himself to be in all Things Catholic; and this, I say, *Athanasius* clearly shews from the express Words of *Dionysius* cited by him; so that I can’t but greatly wonder at those learned Men and Catholics, who still continue to brand that illustrious Ornament of the Church of *Alexandria*, with the calumnious Charge of *Arianism*.

5. To make the Case clearer to the Reader, I will here note one or two of the chief Heads objected to *Dionysius*. The Calumniators complained, that *Dionysius* named the Father without the Son, and again the Son without the Father, thence inferring that he disjoined, divided, and made a great Distance between the Father and the Son. ¹ To this the good Bishop thus answers in *Athanasius*: “Every one of the Names, spoken of by me, is inseparable and indivisible from the other. I said Father, and before I added Son, I signified him by the Father. I added Son, and though I did not say Father before, he was altogether to be supposed in the Son. I added Holy Ghost; but I also shewed from whom, and by whom he came. These Men understand not that the Father, as Father, is not alienated from the Son: For it is a principal Name of Alliance. Nor is the Son removed from the Father: For the Name of Father denotes Communion. The Holy Ghost is between them both, nor can be disjoined from him that sent, or him that brought it. How then can I, who use these Terms, think that they are divided, or altogether separated from one another?” A little after ² he comprehends all these Things in a few Words (according to *Athanasius*) that the indivisible and indiminishible Trinity is summed up in Unity.

¹ P. 254.² P. 255.

6. Besides this, his Adversaries objected against *Dionysius*, that he taught the Son of God to be of another Substance from the Father ; and that the Father stood in such Relation to the Son, as an Husbandman to his Vine, or a Ship-Carpenter to his Barge. To which the Holy Man answers thus : “ Besides, when I had said that some Things “ were to be considered as made, and some as begotten, I “ transiently gave Examples of such as were made, as being of small Importance. For I said, the Vine was not “ in the Husbandman, nor the Barge in the Ship-Carpenter. I afterwards dwelt upon those Things that came “ nearer the Point, and discoursed more largely concerning those Things which were more to the purpose, and “ invented a Variety of Arguments (as I wrote to you “ in another Epistle) in which I shewed the Accusation “ brought against me to be false, namely, that I denied “ Christ to be Consubstantial with God. For though, I “ say, that I had not found this Word, nor read it any “ where in the Holy Scriptures, yet my following Arguments, which they have concealed, are not different “ from this Notion. For I instanced in the Humane Generation as Homogeneous, and universally affirmed, that “ Parents were only in this different from their Children, “ that they themselves are not their own Children. The “ Epistle by Reason of some Circumstances I can’t produce (as I told you before) ; I would rather have sent it “ all than what I have sent, and I will do it as soon I “ can. I know also, and remember, that I brought several Similitudes from Things of like Nature. For I said, “ that the Plant which rises from the Seed, or Root, is “ different from that from which it springs, and yet altogether of a like Nature ; that the River which flows “ from the Fountain hath another Form and Name ; for “ as much as the Fountain is not called the River, nor the “ River the Fountain, and that they both exist, the Fountain as the Father, and the River as the Water from the “ Fountain. These and such like Things they pretend

“ they don’t see, are as it were blind to them, and attempt
 “ my Ruin by two remote unconnected Words.” What
 can be clearer than this Defence? The great Man, in the
 Epistle carpied at, had endeavoured to illustrate the Distinction
 betwixt the Father and Son by divers Similitudes,
 against the *Sabellians*. Of which some related only to the
 Humane Nature of Christ, created by the Father, as those
 of the Husbandman to the Vine, and the Ship-Carpenter
 to the Barge; others again were fitted to the Divine Nature
 of Christ, which he received from the Father by eternal
 Generation. The Examples of the former kind, as
 less proper, he lightly touch’d; but dwelt long upon the
 latter, as more congruous and fit. Among these were many
 Things, which indeed excellently confirmed the Con-
 substantiality (though he confesses in the same place that
 he never used the Word), for he instanced in the Humane
 Generation, and subjoined these Words expressly, That
the Parents are altogether only in this different from their Chil-
dren, as they themselves are not their own Children. In which
 Example both the Communion of Nature betwixt the Fa-
 ther and the Son, and the Distinction of Persons is mani-
 festly declared. He had added, that the Plant coming up
 from the Seed, or Root, is different from that from which
 it springs, and yet altogether of the same Nature with it;
 and many other Examples of the same kind. But the So-
 phisters, concealing these Things, took Occasion to calum-
 niate him from two Words, which they had wrongly
 joined together, and wrested to a quite different Purpose
 from that, *Dionysius* intended. But why, you’ll say, did
Dionysius use those less proper Examples, and such as only
 quadrated with the Humane Nature of Christ? *Athanasius*
 gives an excellent Answer: “ This is a truly effectual
 “ Way to confute the Madness of *Sabellius*, that they
 “ who would the most speedily convince, should not be-
 “ gin with those Things, which demonstrate the Divini-
 “ ty of the Word; namely, that the Word is the Wis-
 “ dom, the Power, and the Son of God, and that the Fa-

“ ther is one with him ; lest they mis-interpreting what
 “ is truly said, supply themselves with Matter of endless
 “ Contention, when they hear : *I and the Father are one,*
 “ *he that seeth me, seeth my Father* ; but should premise
 “ those Things which are spoken of Christ in his Huma-
 “ nity, as *Dionysius* did, namely, that he hungred, that
 “ he prayed, that he suffered. For the more humble
 “ those Things are to be spoken, the more they shew
 “ that the Father was not made Man. For it is necessary,
 “ when he is called, the Lord of the Vineyard, that there
 “ should be an Husbandman ; and when one prays, that
 “ there should be one to hear ; when, lastly, there is one
 “ who asks, there should be one to give. Now these
 “ Things much more clearly discover the Madnefs of the
 “ *Sabellians*, that there is one to pray, another to hear, one
 “ the Vine, another the Husbandman.” As for the Ob-
 jection, that he denied the Eternity of the Son, you shall
 hear the great Prelate’s clear Answer to it, *Seet. 3.* con-
 cerning the Co-eternity. “ Since these Things are so,
 “ some learned Men of these Times are seriously to be ad-
 “ monish’d, not to imitate the Manners of the antient Sy-
 “ cophants, nor, concealing the many Catholic Expressions
 “ in his Writings, to pelt him, (an Holy Man, and one
 “ who has deserved well of the Catholic Church) with
 “ two disjointed mis-interpreted Words.”

7. I proceed to the other thing observable in the Histo-
 ry of *Dionysius*: Namely, That the Doctrine of the Con-
 substantiality, and Co-eternity of the Father and Son was
 the common received Doctrine in the Christian Churches,
 and that it was esteemed in the times of *Dionysius*, as fixt,
 Catholic, and not to be contradicted. As soon as some
 wicked Men had spread the Calumny against *Dionysius*,
 that he denied the Consubstantiality, and taught that the
 Son was created and made, and that there was a Time,
 when he was not ; the whole Christian World was moved
 at it, the Complaint reacht from *East to West*, an Appeal
 was made to the *Roman* Bishop, who had the precedency
 among the Bishops ; a Council was immediately held upon
 it in the *Roman* Province, in which the Opinions were
 condemned,

condemned, which were said to belong to *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and a *Synodical* Epistle was written to him, where in the Fathers ask'd him, whether he had published such Doctrines. This *Athanasius*, ¹ the Defender of *Dionysius*, openly testifies in these Words: "Now, when certain
 " Persons accused the Bishop of *Alexandria* to the Bishop
 " of *Rome*, as having said that the Son was a Creature, and
 " not Consubstantial with the Father, the *Synod* at *Rome*
 " was angry, and the Bishop of *Rome* wrote the Opini-
 " on of them all to his Name-sake. This produced the
 " *Refutation and Apology* by *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to
 " *Dionysius Romanus*, in which he easily cleared himself to
 " that prudent and equitable Person." Moreover we may certainly gather from this History (which I have also observed elsewhere) that the very Word *Consubstantial*, was in publick Use among Catholics, was received and approved in the Explication of Christ's Divinity, in the Days of *Dionysius*, i. e. at least sixty Years before the *Nicene* Council. For it was objected against *Dionysius* in Terms, that he deny'd the Son to be Consu**st**antial with the Father. To which the good Man answered, that indeed he had never read that Word in Scripture, but did not upon that Account avoid it (in his Epistle to *Paulus Samosatenus*, he expressly proves the Use of the Word by Fathers, more antient than himself, as I have shewed before) and that he had often and very publicly confirmed the Thing expressed by that Word, both in his other Writings, and also in that very Epistle, from which his Adversaries had taken an Opportunity to calumniate him.

8. What says *Sandius* ² to all this? Hear and admire the extreme Ignorance and Impudence of the Man. "The
 " Apology of this *Dionysius*, says he, seems to me spurious,
 " and forged by those, who contend that all Controver-
 " sies of Faith are to be decided by the Bishop of *Rome*,
 " as supreme Judge." But what Mortal ever suspected this besides himself? Perhaps this nice Man in Ecclesiastical Story has some Reasons for this Censure, which we rude

¹ p. 757. Vol. 2. Tom. 1.

² De Script. Eccles. p. 42, 43.

ignorant Creatures don't yet understand. For he publicly professes it to be his Purpose, to give us some remains of Ecclesiastical History out of the way of the ordinarily learned Man. Well; Let us see what he has to produce worthy our Notice, contrary to the consent of all sorts of learned Men. First, then he says, *Neither Eusebius nor Jerome have mentioned this Apology*. Grant it to be true; yet *Athanasius* hath taken Notice of it, who well knew the Writings of his Predecessor in the Chair of *Alexandria*, and he has so done it, as to transcribe long Passages out of it, and boldly oppose them to the *Arians*, when boasting *Dionysius's* Consent. The great *Basil* ¹ also mentions it, where he cites from it an excellent Testimony concerning the Holy Ghost. But besides, what he says of *Eusebius* and *Jerome* is entirely false, for both of them speak of it very plainly. ² *Eusebius* enumerating the Epistles and Books written in an Epistolary Way against *Sabellius* by *Dionysius*, thus expresses himself about this Apology: "He also composed four other Pieces upon the same Subject, which he inscribed to his Name-sake *Dionysius Romanus*." By which Words of *Eusebius* are manifestly understood the Books of Confutation and Apology, which *Athanasius* cites. All Things agree, the Form, the Argument, the Title, and Division of the Books. The Form of both was the same, *i. e.* Epistolary. The Work *Eusebius* mentions was wrote concerning the *Sabellian* Controversy; the Piece cited by *Basil* and *Athanasius*, the Refutation and Apology were upon the same Subject. The one and the other were dedicated to *Dionysius Romanus*. The Epistolary Work in *Eusebius* was divided into four Volumes; so was the Apologetical Epistle in *Athanasius*. *Eusebius* testifies, that the Epistle by him mentioned, consisted of four Parts, and ³ *Athanasius* cites Testimonies out of the first, second, and third by Name. See the Note of *Valesius* ⁴ upon the place, I have cited from *Eusebius*. And now for *Jerome*, he also expressly mentions this Qua-

¹ De Sp. Sanct. c. 29. ² p. 226. Eccl. Hist.
sius's Epistle concerning Dionysius's Opinions, p. 243.

³ See *Athanasius's*
 p. 139.

dripartite Epistle in these Words: *The four Books to Dionysius Bishop of Rome are also his.* ¹

9. *Sandius's* second Argument is this: "It is manifest from the Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius*, that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was very old, and dead, and that *Maximus* was constituted his Successor, (*Anno 268.*) before *Dionysius* was made Bishop of Rome." This is like our exact Historian! All, that are but meanly skilled in this kind of Learning, know that *Eusebius* has been greatly mistaken in Chronology here. The Cause of his Error was his not knowing the Years of *Xystus's* Pontificate, who was Predecessor to *Dionysius Romanus*. He says *Xystus* presided over that Church eleven Years, whereas it is plain he did not govern it three. Thus the most excellent *Valesius* ² writes upon this gross Error of *Eusebius*: "*Eusebius* is here greatly mistaken. For *Xystus* did not govern the Church of Rome eleven Years, but only two Years and eleven Months, as we have it in the Book of the Popes, first publish'd by *Cuspinian*. In that Book the Years of the Popes are well digested from *Callistus* to *Liberius*." Of *Xystus* it writes thus: "*Xystus* two Years, eleven Months, and six Days. He begun from the Consulate of *Maximus* and *Glabrio*, and proceeded to that of *Tuscius* and *Bassus*, and suffered the eighth of the Ides of *August*. ³ *Cyprian* testifies the same in his Epistle to *Successus*, who himself suffered Martyrdom under the same Consuls, and the Month following. But *Eusebius* says nothing either in his Chronicle, or his History of the Martyrdom of *Xystus*; which I much wonder at, and should more, but that I know *Eusebius* was something more negligent in the Western Affairs. Moreover in his Chronicle he writes, that he sat eight Years, whereas in his History he gives him eleven. He says *Xystus* was succeeded by *Dionysius* in the 12th Year of *Gallienus*; but that *Maximus* succeeded *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in the 11th Year of the same Reign. Which is very absurd, since it is mani-

¹ Catalog. Script. Eccles. in *Dionysio Alex.* p. 138. ² p. 238.

"fest

“ felt that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* dedicated four Books
“ against *Sabellius* to *Dionysius* Bishop of Rome, as *Ensebi-*
“ us himself saith.

10. We are now briefly to dispatch *Sandius*'s third and last Cavil, viz. *This Apology is contrary to the Opinion of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and agrees with the Heresy of Paulus Samosatenus, of which we shall treat Book the first of the Ecclesiastical History.* But, (1.) how does he prove the Contrariety he speaks of? Why, *Dionysius* taught that the Son of God, even as he was properly the Son of God, was a Creature, &c. which Doctrines the Author of the Apology professedly opposes. But this is to take for granted what should be proved. For we assert that *Dionysius* never taught such things, but that they were forced upon the good Man by his Adversaries, and we prove this Assertion solidly from *Dionysius*'s Apology, which from very conclusive Arguments we are sure is his. The Apology contradicts these Calumnies, and if it did not, it would not deserve the Title of a Refutation and Apology. (2.) Who is not astonish'd to hear *Sandius* affirm that the Doctrine of the Author of the Apology agrees with the Heresy of *Paulus Samosatenus*? For every where in that Apology the Divinity of the Word, or Son of God is clearly asserted; this *Paulus* deny'd. Perhaps *Sandius* would have the Author a *Sabellian*, and then that *Sabellius* and *Paulus* were of the same Opinion in the Article of the Son of God, which he eagerly contends for in his *Ecclesiastical History*.¹ But, granting the Trifler, that they were the same, or came to the same at last, whence, or how will he prove that the Author of the Apology agreed with *Sabellius*? Surely *Ensebius*, *Athanasius*, &c. testify, that the Apology was chiefly intended against *Sabellianism*: Nay, *Athanasius* says that in that Work he overthrows *Sabellius*; and we cited such Things out of the *Athanasian* Fragments of the Apology, as are diametrically opposite to *Sabellianism*. Of this kind (to mention no more, lest I tire the Reader with Repetition) is what he says, when

¹ p. 114.

illustrating the Distinction of God the Father and the Son, by a Similitude taken from Humane Birth, he subjoins, *That the Parents are in this only different from their Children, that they are not their own Children.* What sober Man will say that these are the Words of a *Sabellian*, or even of a *Samosatenian*? But it is likely *Sandius* never read the *Athasian* Fragments of the Apology; but had heard from others that the Consubstantiality of the Son was in that Writing asserted, and therefore inferred the Author was a staunch *Sabellian*. The sober Reader, who has not yet seen that patcht peice of *Sandius's*, may wonder perhaps at my Conjecture; but that Author does every where in his Book take it for granted, that the Consubstantialists, as he calls them, and † the *Sabellians* agree in their Sentiment. Nothing is more false however; for I have shewed before, that no Man can say that the Son of God is Consubstantial with the Father, unless very absurdly, and improperly, who is a *Sabellian*. So much for *Dionysius's* Apology.

11. Besides, the same *Dionysius*,¹ being entreated by the *Antiochian* Fathers in the Council upon the Cause of *Paulus Samosatennus*, wrote a famous Epistle against *Paulus*, which is yet extant. In this the Divine Soul, ready to go hence unto his God, disputes altogether Heavenly concerning the true Divinity of the Son of God. There are many things to our Purpose, but I will only give you a Taste.² He there calls Christ *uncreated*, and *the Creator*; and below, *God by Nature, the Word of the Father*, by whom the Father made all things, and who is said by all the Fathers to be *Consubstantial with the Father*. Afterwards³ *Christ is immutable, as being God the Word.* And

† And is follow'd by our present Heretics, as you may see in almost every Page of his Works. 1 Vide Valesium de hac Epistolâ He

denies it to be genuine, but his chief Reason is not of much Weight. For the *Antiochian* Fathers affirm that *Dionysius* did not write to *Paul*, but to the Church of *Antioch*; now this Epistle says he wrote to *Paul* twice; which words may very well be restrained to his taking no notice of him when he wrote to the Council in Session, but not to his never writing to him at any other Time. See *Eusebius* p. 228. Not to say that the Words insisted upon by *Valesius* will not bear his Sense. 2 *Bibl.*

Patrum, Tom. 11. p. 266, 267.

3 p. 288.

again, ¹ *Christ is called by him, God over all, our Refuge.* Parallel to this in the next Page we read of Christ, *Jesus Christ, who is God over all, the Lord and God of Israel.* Nay, he plainly acknowledges the entire consubstantial Trinity: ² *Christ the Word is of the same kind with the Holy Ghost in the shape of a Dove; The Holy Spirit is of the same kind with the Father.* This I observe against those, who think that at least he thought amiss concerning the Holy Spirit. But in the same Place he hath these excellent Words concerning the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost: *Jesus the Word before Ages is the God of Israel, as also the Holy Ghost.* Again, in the same peice he speaks thus of the Holy Ghost: *He shall not escape unpunish'd, who blasphemeth the benevolent Holy Spirit. For the Spirit is God.*

12. What says *Sandius* again to these Things? He again hardens his brow, and confidently rejects this Epistle as spurious. "There is also, says he, an Epistle goes about under the name of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* against *Paulus Samosatenus*, but it is suppositious." Who can bear the Impudence of this Fellow passing his decretory Sentence upon the Writings of the Holy Fathers, out of his own Brain, according to his own Pleasure, without any regard to the Judgment, Credit and Authority of all that have gone before him? *Eusebius* ³ expressly mentions the Epistle of *Dionysius* written to the *Antiochians* against *Paulus*. "*Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, says he, being called to the Synod, excused his coming upon the account of old Age and Weakness of Body, and gave them his Thoughts upon the Question by Letter." The *Antiochian* Fathers also mention this Letter in their Synodical Epistle. ⁴ "We wrote to, and exhorted many of the Bishops at a distance to take Care of this pestilent Doctrine, as *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and *Firmilian* of *Cappadocia*, of blessed Memory, one of which sent a Letter to *Antiochia*, not so much as saluting the Heresiarch, or personally writing to him, but to the whole

¹ p. 289.

² p. 284.

³ p. 226.

⁴ p. 228

“ Diocese. A Copy of which we have subjoined.” Lastly, to say no more, *Jerome* ¹ mentions it. There is also a famous Letter of his against *Paulus Samosatenus* written a few Days before his Death. Here he calls the Letter famous, because in it the Catholic Doctrine of the Son of God was excellently explained and confirmed. Let us now weigh the mighty Argument, which is to bear down so great Authority, as *Sandius* supposes. “ *Eras-*
“ *mus Brochmandus* (a *Lutheran* Doctor of Divinity, and
“ Professor at *Copenhagen*) says he, rejects this Epistle as
“ spurious, because in it Christ is said to be Consubstan-
“ tial with the Father, though that Word was not in
“ use before the Times of *Arius*.” The Opinion of this
Brochmandus, how great a Man soever, is light, in
comparison of the Credit and Authority of the *Antiochi-*
an Fathers, *Eusebius* and *Jerome*. As for the Argument,
I have before proved more than once, and evidently, that
the word *Consubstantial* was in frequent use among the Ca-
tholics long before the Council of *Nice*, and even before the
Age of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. But see the extraordinary
Candor of this *Sandius*. He here fights with a Weapon,
which he owned before had no edge, ² for speaking of
Origen’s Books upon *Job*, he discourses thus: “ As for
“ those, who with *Sextus Senensis*, *Possevin*, *Bellarmino* and
“ *Rivet*, don’t esteem these Tracts and Commentaries to
“ be *Origen*’s, because of the word *Homoousion* in them,
“ which is of much later date; we shall prove that the
“ word *Homoousion* was then used in the Times of *Ori-*
“ *gen*.” This, forsooth, was a foolish Reason for not
owning those Books to be *Origen*’s, which notwithstanding,
the learned unanimously think are not his: But it
is a strong Argument for rejecting *Dionysius*’s Epistle
against *Paulus Samosatenus*, as spurious, which all Authors
antient and modern (one *Brochmandus* excepted) have un-
animously believed to be wrote by him. The Case is
this. The Books upon *Job* ascribed to *Origen* are stuff
with *Arian* Trumpery, and therefore it highly concern-

¹ Catal. Script.

² De. Script. Eccl. p. 30.

ed the *Arian Sandius* that they should be held genuine : But the Epistle of *Dionysius* against *Paulus Somofatenus* greatly confirms the Consubstantiality of the Son, therefore right or wrong, it must be spurious. Here's a sincere and creditable Historian for you ! Thus we have at last abundantly proved (if I mistake not) that the great Man *Dionysius Alexandrinus* did in no wise favour that Blasphemy, which *Arius* afterwards defended, but both thought and wrote Catholicly concerning the Son of God, and the Holy Trinity also.

Dr. GRABE's *Annotations upon Dionysius Alexandrinus*, Sect. 5, and 6.

THE reverend Dr. Bull cites the Opinion of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* asserting (as *Athanasius* says) that the indivisible and indiminisbible Trinity is summed up into Unity. But the entire Words of *Dionysius*, which have been wanted in all Greek Editions hitherto, the very learned and laudable *Montfaucon* hath happily restored from the Manuscripts in a late Edition, thus : ¹ *Thus we extend the indivisible Unity into a Trinity, and again we contract the indiminisbible Trinity into Unity.* *Isidore Pelsiota* ² seems to have had an Eye to this, when he says : *That which is the right true Doctrine is, that extending the Subsistences into an Holy Trinity, we contract them into one Essence.* In like manner in another Place ³ after [*They are not their own Children*] add, *otherwise of necessity there would neither be Parents, nor Children.* For so it is extant in two Places of this late Edition. And a little after instead of, *and that was of a like Nature*, read, *was of the same Nature with him.* As is also plain from the said Tracts. Moreover, after those Words of *Dionysius*, *Athanasius* presently adds others out of the third Book of the Apology, which also very well confirm the Consubstantiality of the Son. ⁴ *Life was be-*

¹ Tom. 1. pars pr. p. 255.

² Isidorus P. Lib. 2. Ep. 144.

³ p. 231. Tom. 1. p. 1. and Tom. 1. p. 2. p. 758.

⁴ p. 255,

256.

gotten of Life, as the River flowed from the Fountain, and clear Light was kindled by Light inextinct. Nor are those Words unworthy our Notice, which are cited afterwards out of the second Book of the Apology. ¹ “ Now if
 “ any Sycophant shall think, I say, God is the Creator and Ma-
 “ ker of Christ, because I have said that God is the Creator
 “ and Maker of all Things ; Let him observe that I before
 “ called him Father, in which the Son is imply’d. For after
 “ I had called him Father, I added, And he is not the Fa-
 “ ther of those Things, of which he is the Maker ; if we
 “ understand Father strictly for him, who hath begotten (but
 “ we will enquire hereafter into the Latitude of the word
 “ Father), nor the Maker of that of which he is the Father,
 “ if an Artificer alone be a Maker.” You may find other
 Places to the same purpose, p. 256.

¹ p. 256. Tom. i. p. 1.



C H A P. XII.

Of the Faith and Opinion of Gregory Thaumaturgus Bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus.

ST. *Theodorus*, the Disciple and the Glory of *Origen*, afterwards called *Gregory*, and by reason of his many wonderful Miracles which he wrought, bringing Men to Christianity, by deeds much more than by words, called *Magnus* and *Thaumaturgus*, Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, was Contemporary with the *Dionysii* of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, and survived the latter, who was dead before the last Council of *Antioch* against *Paulus Samosatenus*, at which *Gregory* was present, as *Eusebius* saith. ¹ He delivered to Posterity, a Confession very perfect and accurate

¹ E. H. F. 227.

concerning

concerning the Faith of the consubstantial Trinity, conceived in these Words: ¹ “ *There is one God, the Father of the living Word, the subsisting Wisdom, and Power, and eternal Character; the perfect begetter of him that is perfect, the Father of the only-begotten Son, one Lord, alone of him who is alone; God of God; the Impress and Image of the Deity, the effective Word. The Wisdom which comprehends the Constitution of the Universe, and the Power which made the whole Creation; true Son of the true Father; invisible of invisible, incorruptible of incorruptible, immortal of immortal, and eternal of eternal. And one Holy Spirit, who hath his existence from God, and who appeared by the Son, namely, to Mankind. The Image of the Son, perfect of perfect, the Life, the Author of the Living, the Holy Fountain, Holiness, and the giver of Sanctification, in whom God the Father is manifested, who is over all, and God the Son who is through all. The perfect Trinity, not divided or alienated in Glory, Eternity and Kingdom. There is therefore nothing created, nothing servile in the Trinity. Nothing superinduced, that was not before, but came in afterwards. The Father always had a Son, and the Son a Spirit: There was always the same Trinity without change or turn.*”

2. This Confession of Faith, they say, was delivered from Heaven to Gregory by Revelation, one Night, when he was intent upon the discharge of his pastoral Care, was considering upon a Method of preaching the true Faith to the People, and revolv'd in his Mind the various controverted Questions about the Holy Trinity. Nor should it seem incredible to any one, that such a Thing should happen to a Man, whom all the Ecclesiastical Writers that have mentioned him (and almost all have) with one Voice have attested to be illustrious for Revelations and Miracles. But, however that be, it is certain, this Form of Catholic Confession concerning the Trinity did really come from him. For not only *Ruffinus* ² has at-

¹ Opera Gregorii Thaumaturgi. p. 1. Ed. Par. 1622. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

² H. Eccl.

tributed it to him; but also his Name-sake *Gregory Nyssen*,¹ who had a perfect knowledge of his Deeds and his Writings, and also wrote his Life. Nay, that extraordinary Person so relates the Matter, that an honest Man can't doubt of it. For when he is going to recite the Confession, he premises: *By which (Confession) that People is to this Day instructed, and remains unaffected by all heretical Pravity.* It was so certain that the Confession of Faith came from *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that all the People of *Neocæsarea*, whose Bishop and immortal Honour he was, embraced it as undoubtedly the genuine Confession of *Gregory*, and were wont to be instructed by it from the Memory of the Fathers, down to the times of *Nyssen*; and thence it came to pass, that, when the whole World became *Arian*, the Church of *Neocæsarea* preserved it self free from that Heresy. After *Nyssen* had recited that Confession, he subjoins, *Whosoever has a mind to be satisfied of this, let him hear the Church, in which he preached the Word, with whom the very Writing of that Blessed Hand is preserved to this Day.* He appeals to the original of *Thaumaturgus* religiously kept by the *Neocæsareans* down to his own Age. Indeed I know not what can be expected more to confirm such a Tradition. Further *Basil*² the great, his Brother, seems to me to give his Suffrage to the Testimony of *Gregory Nyssen*, who testifies to the *Neocæsareans*, that he had learnt the very Words of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* from his Grandmother in his tender Age, as that, by which he would be rightly instructed in the Faith of the Holy Trinity. His Words are these: “What more evident Demonstration can there be of our Faith than that in which we were brought up by our Grandmother, a blessed Woman, who was one of you, I mean the famous *Macrina*; by whom we were taught the very Words of the blessed *Gregory*, which She had safely treasured up by the help of her Memory, and us being Infants she form'd and fashion'd with these Prin-

¹ In vita Greg. Thaum. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 878, &c. ² Tom. 3. p. 131. Ed. Paris. 1638.

"ciples of Godliness." Here I'm altogether of Opinion, that the Confession of *Thaumaturgus* is meant. For *Basil* expressly testifies, that his Grandmother *Macrina*, a *Neocæsarean*, taught him, in his Infancy, the Confession of Faith *verbatim*, which *Gregory* had delivered to them concerning the Holy Trinity (for of that *Basil* is there treating). Attend Reader : *Nyssen* says, that the *Neocæsareans* were wont to be instructed by the Confession of *Thaumaturgus*, from the Memory of the Fathers to his time. *Basil* says, that he learnt the right Faith of the Trinity in *Gregory's* own Words, from his Grandmother (when he and his Parents lived with her at *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*) in his tender Age before the Council of *Nice*. Who would not think that they both speak of the same Confession ? Yea, the same *Basil* affirms, ¹ that *Gregory's* Reputation was so great with the *Neocæsareans*, in his time, that they would not admit either Doctrine or Ritual, which they had not by Tradition from him. The Words of *Basil* are these : " The People of the Country greatly admire him " still. His Memory is establish'd in the Churches, fresh " and new, and never to be obscured. Therefore they " have not admitted any Custom, or Word, or Form of " the sacred Mysteries into the Church, besides what he " left them." If the Church of *Neocæsarea* would admit no Word, but what he left them, much less any Creed or Confession of Faith which they had not received from him. And yet it is very certain, that in *Basil's* time the Confession of Faith, of which I am speaking, was received in that Church, and that too, as *Gregory's*. To this add, that this Confession was delivered, as the undoubted genuine Confession of *Thaumaturgus*, by all the Fathers in the fifth general Council. Lastly, The Confession it self speaks its own Age, as being manifestly opposite to those Heresies, which at that time gave the Church the greatest Disturbance. Two Heresies did then especially prevail, as is plain from the Epistle of *Dionysius Romanus* in *Athanasius* : That of *Sabellius*, which determined that the Father,

¹ Op. Tom. 2. p. 360.

Son, and Holy Ghost were in Name only, not in Person different : The other diametrically opposite to *Sabellianism*, teaching that the Holy Trinity is divided into three separate Subsistences, different from and foreign to each other, and affirming the Son and Spirit to be Creatures, and not always existent with God. At the former Heresy those Words in the beginning are plainly levelled : *Father of the living Word, of the subsisting Wisdom* ; and those, *True Son of true Father*. (For *Sabellius* neither owned a true Father, nor a true Son, but both Nominal). And lastly, those of the Holy Spirit existing from God. Amongst others, these Words strike at the other Heresy : *Perfect Trinity, not divided, or alienated in Glory, Eternity, or Kingdom*. And those which follow : *There is then nothing created or servile in the Trinity*, &c. In short, let the studious Reader compare the Profession of *Dionysius Romanus* concerning the Trinity, with this of *Gregory* his Contemporary, and he will find a wonderful Harmony between them.

3. What says *Sandius* to all this ? ¹ *I say nothing more of the Confession of Faith, than that Eusebius, Jerome, and Sophronius never speak of it.* As though *Eusebius* and *Jerome* had mentioned all the Writings and Actions of all the Antients. Indeed *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, why I know not (nor am I willing to think as *Anastasius Bibl.* ² does, that it was with an ill Design) has not said one Word in praise of *Thaumaturgus*, or his Miracles, celebrated throughout the World. Perhaps he had spoken largely of him in some Work that is lost ; and indeed in his Apology for *Origen*, he mentions *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, his Scholar, and inserts into that Work his *Panegyric Oration* ³ in praise of *Origen*. *Jerome* has almost trod in the very Steps of *Eusebius*, and *Sophronius* is only *Jerome's* Interpreter. I wonder what *Philipp. Labbe* thought of, when he wrote these Words in his *Dissertation* upon the Ecclesiastical Writers. ⁴ “ It is certain, says he, as St. *Gregory Nyssen* attests in his Life of *Thaumaturgus*, that

¹ De Script. Eccl. p. 19.

² Ad An. Christi 246.

³ Socrates,

p. 200.

⁴ Labbe de Scriptor. Eccl. Vol. 1. p. 373.

“ the Mother of God and St. *John* appeared, and that she
 “ commanded St. *John* to give him the Exposition of the
 “ Catholic Faith. But whether that be it which *Vossius*
 “ has publish’d, *Bellarmino* with good Reason doubts, and
 “ *Petavius* denies.” For *Bellarmino* never doubted whether the *Vossian* Confession was *Gregory’s*, nay, he made sure of it, as any one, who will consult him, may see. Concerning the longer Exposition of the Faith, as it is particularly called, publish’d by the same *Vossius*, *Bellarmino* doubts, and justly indeed. It is also false that *Petavius* denies the *Vossian* Confession to be *Gregory’s*; yea, he cites it ¹ as *Gregory’s*, and expressly calls it *An illustrious Monument of the Ecclesiastical and Catholic Profession of Faith*. But indeed, when he also speaks of the longer Exposition, (which *Labbe* here confounds with the *Gregorian* Confession, the shorter) he denies, ² and for weighty Reasons, that it is *Gregory’s*. As for what he says, that it is justly to be doubted, whether the Confession of Faith, which *Gregory Nyssen* attributes to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, be the *Vossian*, who is not amazed? For the *Vossian* answers to a Word to *Gregory Nyssen’s*. If *Labbe* had caught any of the Heterodox Critics (as he calls them) in so foul an Error, how would he have insulted him according to Custom.

4. Besides, there is now extant among *Gregory’s* Works publish’d by *Vossius*, a Panegyric Oration upon *Origen*, which, by the consent of all Men, and the Confession of *Sandius* himself, is the genuine Work of that great Man. In that Oration after he hath said, that God the Father cannot worthily be praised by any Creature, he subjoins these magnificent Words concerning the Son: ³ “ But
 “ let us commit Hymns and Praises to the King and
 “ Creator of the Universe, the sufficient Fountain of all
 “ good Things, to him who herein heals our Infirmities,
 “ and is alone able to supply our Defect, to the Prince
 “ and Saviour of our Souls, to his first begotten Word,

¹ Præf. in Tom. 2. c. 4. n. 5.

² De Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. n. 10.

³ p. 53 & 54.

“ the Creator and Governour of all Things ; since he
 “ alone can send up to the Father perpetual and incessant
 “ Thanksgivings for himself, and for us all, particularly
 “ and universally. For he being the Truth, the Wisdom
 “ and Power of the Father of all Things, furthermore,
 “ being in him, and naturally united to him, it is not
 “ possible that out of Forgetfulness or Imprudence, or
 “ any Infirmary, like one who is remote from him, he
 “ should either not reach the Power of Powers [*in his*
 “ *Praises*] or though he can, should voluntarily (which is
 “ not to be supposed) omit it. He only is able perfectly
 “ to fulfil all that Dignity of Praises which belong to
 “ him ; he whom the Father of all Things having united
 “ to himself, he himself only not containing himself in
 “ him, hath in a certain manner honoured with an every
 “ way equal Power to that of his own, and is honoured
 “ [*by him*] which he the first and only one of all Beings
 “ hath obtained, he the Only-begotten, God the Word
 “ in him.” A little after in the same place he calls the
 Son ; “ The most perfect, the living, the animate Word
 “ of him, the first Mind.” How many Elogies upon
 the Son of God are heap’d up in these Words, which ex-
 cellently declare his Divinity ? He calls the Son of God
 the Prince of our Souls, the first-begotten Word of God,
 Maker and Governour of all Things, the Truth, Wisdom
 and Power of the Father, who is in the Father, and really
 united to him, in whom there can’t be Oblivion, Impru-
 dence, or Infirmary, who is in no wise alien from the
 Father, who by his Power can reach the Father’s Power,
 whom God the Father hath made one with himself, and
 by whom he hath circumscribed his own infinite Majesty
 (just as before we found the old Author in *Irenæus* expres-
 sing himself, that the immense Father is measured in the
 Son) who is endowed with Power really equal to his Fa-
 thers, who, lastly, subsists in God being God the Word,
 the most perfect Word, born of the first and eternal Mind.
 Is there any of the *Arian* Tribe who can say these Things
 sincerely, and from their Heart, concerning the Son of
 God ? Nor should it offend any one that *Thaumaturgus*
 says

says the Son honours and praises his Father ; for he also says, that the Father has honoured the Son, communicating to him his Power, every way equal to his own. The Son honours and praises the Father as the Author and Principle of him ; the Father embraces, and in some sort honours the Son, as his lively and most perfect Image and Off-spring. Upon which Account the Catholics, after the *Nicene* Synod, have often spoke in the same manner of the Son of God. Although *Gregory* seems in this place to speak with an Eye to the Oeconomy of the Son, as he is Mediator, and offers up the Prayers and Praises of the faithful, rendering them acceptable to God the Father by his Intercession. Nay, he expressly speaks of the Son as healing our Infirmities in this Matter. He shews that the Son is absolutely sufficient for this mediatorial Office, as being with respect to his better Nature, one altogether with the Father, and every way equal to him in Power.

5. *Lastly*, If there was no written Monument of *Gregory's* Faith at this Day, the great *Basil* alone would be ample Evidence that his Judgment in the Article of the Holy Trinity was sound, sincere and catholic. *Basil*, forsooth, as often as his heretical Adversaries controverted the Faith of the Trinity, almost so often appealed to the Tradition of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and professed that he from a Boy had held the same Opinion concerning the Trinity, as that admirable Man taught. Thus in the 75th Epistle to the *Neocæsareans*, he boasts (as I have shewed before) that he had learnt the Orthodox Faith of the Trinity, in his Childhood, from the Words of *Thaumaturgus* which were taught him by his Grandmother *Macrina*. He also clearly testifies in his 79th Epistle to *Eustathius*,¹ that he had never changed that Faith, which he had received from *Macrina*: These are his Words: “ For though many other
 “ Matters ought to be lamented by us, yet in this we
 “ think we dare boast in the Lord, that we have never had
 “ erroneous Opinions of God, nor having thought otherwise,
 “ have learnt better afterwards: But the same Notion

¹ Tom. 3. p. 141.

“ of God, which we from our Childhood read, from our
 “ Mother, and Grandmother *Macrina*, we have held and
 “ improved in our selves”. Therefore if *Basil* thought
 catholicly and piously of the Trinity (which no Body
 doubts) *Gregory* was also Catholic in that Article, as *Basil*
 witnesseth. The same *Basil* ¹ defends that Form of Doxo-
 logy by the Authority of *Gregory*, in which the Holy
 Trinity was glorified in the Churches under his Govern-
 ment, and which the Heretics so greatly hated. There
 after he had deservedly praised the great Man, he adds to
 the purpose : “ The Doxology of *Gregory*, and the form
 “ of Doxology now spoken against is the one, being ob-
 “ served by the Church (of *Neocæsarea*, which he almost
 “ planted) from his Tradition”. It was with good Rea-
 son therefore that *Anastasius Bibl.* ² in his History, pro-
 nounced this *Gregory* especially to be far removed from the
 Dotage of *Arius*, relying upon *Basil*’s Testimony.

6. Since these things are so, I cannot enough wonder
 at those learned Men, who durst accuse this very great
 Doctor of the Church, of *Arianism*, and pretend *Basil*’s Au-
 thority for what they did. *Petavius* says, ³ *Basil* in his 64th
 Epistle charged him with two Errors, not more contrary
 to Truth than to one another : The one *Sabellianism*, that
 the Father and Son differed not in Hypostasis, but in our Con-
 ception only ; the other *Arianism*, that Christ was a Creature.
Petavius endeavours to prove *Gregory* right in the former,
 but as to the latter, thinks him an *Arian*. ⁴ *Huetius* also,
 trusting too much, I suppose, to *Petavius*’s Candour and
 Judgment, writes, that *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was chastised
 by *Basil*, for preaching openly that the Son was created. A lit-
 tle after he is not afraid to say, that the admired Man
 followed the wild Tenets of *Arius*. *Sandius* ⁵ the *Arian*
 relying very much upon the Authority of these very learn-
 ed Men, glories greatly in him, that the great Honour
 and Ornament of the Christian Church was of *Arius*’s
 Mind. But if we weigh the Works of *Basil* a little more

¹ Ad Amphilocho. de Sp. Sanct. c. 29. ² Ad An. Ch. 246. ³ De
 Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. §. 10. ⁴ Origenian, p. 36. ⁵ Sand. Enucl. H.
 Eb. 1. p. 111.

attentively,

attentively, from whom the matter of this Accufation was taken, it will immediately appear, that though *Gregory* has been calumniated with *Arianism*, it was none of *Basil's* fault. *Basil* then in the 64th ¹ Epistle to the *Neocæsarians*, after he had faid that the Spreaders of *Sabellianism* amongst them, with whom he was in Controverfy, had published their Trifles, and had mentioned an Epistle of theirs to *Meletius*, immediately animadverts upon another Epistle of theirs to *Anthimus* a Bishop, in which they pretended to have the great *Gregory's* Authority for their dotage. These are *Basil's* Words: " They made also an Experiment upon
 " our dear Brother *Anthimus* Bishop of *Tyana* by a Letter,
 " pretending *Gregory* had faid in his Exposition of the Faith,
 " that the Father and Son were in Notion two, but in
 " Hypoftasis one. But, blessing themselves in their own
 " subtilty of Soul they could not perceive, that this was
 " not faid in a dogmatical, but a difputatious Way, in his
 " Difpute with *Oelian*: In which the Copiers have err'd
 " many times, as I fhew from the Words themselves,
 " God willing. Befides, perfuading a Heathen, he did not
 " think there was occafion for Exactnefs in Words, but
 " that it might be proper fometimes to give in to his Hu-
 " mour, that fo he might be more pliable upon a critical
 " Juncture. Upon which account you may find many
 " Words there, which are now of mighty Ufe to the He-
 " retics; as the word *Creature*, &c: Unlearned Perfons
 " alfo wrefte many Things fpoken of the Incarnation, to
 " the Divinity. Such is this Calumny that they carry
 " about". In thefe Words *Basil* informs us, that the *Sa-
 bellians* underftood that paffage in the Exposition, namely,
*That the Father and Son were indeed in Notion two, but in
 Hypoftasis only one*, as the Doctrine of *Gregory*, not as a Sup-
 pofition he made ufe of in difputing with his Adverfaries:
 And for that Reason ridicules their fhort fight, who could
 not perceive what was before them. *Basil* then does not
 fay it was *Gregory's* Opinion, that the Father and Son dif-
 fered only in Notion; but he fays the very contrary. Thus

¹ Tom. 3. p. 101.

Petavius loses his labour, whilst, with I don't know what Niceties, he endeavours to prove that Saying Orthodox and Catholic, and lashes *Basil* as undeservedly censuring what *Gregory* had said. For *Gregory* never wrote it as his own Sentiment, nor did *Basil* ever charge him with that stupid Heresy. Moreover *Basil* says, that the *Heretics* published false Copies of this Work, in which many things were wrong transcribed; and promises that he himself will evidently discover those Errors. The Words [*in which there are many errors of the Transcribers*] evidently signify this. To this, I suppose, we may refer what *Enagrios* notes, ¹ that the *Heretics* had obtruded their dorage upon the World, under the Names of the great *Gregory*, &c. Lastly, *Basil* confesses, that in those parts which are really *Gregory's*, he hath used many Words, from whence the *Arians* have endeavoured to support their heretical Tenets, as not being solicitous about Exactness in Expression, whilst he was giving a rough draught of Christianity to a *Gentile*. But did the *Heretics* make Use of him justly? *Basil* says not. For he presently adds, that they unskilfully wrested those things to the Divinity of Christ, which *Gregory* had spoken with an Eye to his humane Nature. Now to this Head he expressly refers the *κρίσιμα* and *πρίνιμα*, which make such a noise among the *Sophisters*. *Basil* then does not say, what *Petavius* would have him, that *Gregory* either thought, or wrote, that the Son of God, as properly the Son of God, is a Creature, or made; but signifies the quite contrary.

7. What need many Words? *Basil* is here so far from granting that the Anti-trinitarian *Heretics* of any kind had justly pretended the patronage of *Gregory* to their Tenets, that he boldly, and in an especial manner appeals to his Judgment upon the Trinity, next to the Scriptures, in this very Epistle. These are his Words: ² “ You meditate
“ the Perversion of the Faith, contrary to the Apostolical
“ and Evangelical Doctrines, contrary to the Tradition of
“ the truly great *Gregory*, and his Successors down to Bless-
“ ed *Musonius*, whose Sermons are, as it were, yet in our

¹ p. 361.² p. 99.

“Ears”. The Case is this. *Gregory* thought and wrote altogether rightly and Catholicly concerning the Divine Persons, but the *Neocæsarean* Heretics either adulterated, or perversly explained his Words, by whose Authority they were chiefly pressed. Hence *Basil* in the end of the foregoing Epistle thus speaks to them, not without great Commotion of Mind: “Silence the Novelties about the Faith, “despise not the *Hypostasis*, deny not the Name of Christ, “don’t perversly interpret *Gregory*’s Words; but, if you “will, whilst I breath and can speak, it is impossible for “me to be silent in so great a Destruction of Soul”. Thus have we redeemed the most excellent Christian Doctor since the Apostles, *Gregory* of *Neocæsarea* out of the Hands of the *Arians*, where he was detained captive by some learned Men, and restored him to the Catholic Church.

Dr. GRABE’s Annotations upon Sect. 4. concerning Gregory’s Confession of Faith.

Eusebius has made honourable mention of *Gregory* in three places of his History. Thus he says of *Origen*’s Scholars: “Of whom we knew the most famous, *Theodorus*, who was also called *Gregory*, a celebrated Bishop “in our time, and his Brother *Athenodorus*”. Again, he reckons him among the chief Bishops of that Age, but names no Books, ² or Works of his. But *Ruffinus*, to supply this Defect has named them in the last place, *Book* 7. *Ch.* 26. according to his Division, where we read thus: “But since the Text of the History hath made mention of “the blessed *Gregory*, I think it very fit to insert into this “Narration for the Memory of Posterity, the Deeds of “this great Man, so celebrated in the *East* and *North*, “though by what chance I know not, omitted”. Then after relating some of his Miracles, he gives us the following Account of his Works. “He has also left us in a small “Compass the greatest Monuments of his Wit. He has “wrote a very magnificent Interpretation of *Ecclesiastes*,

¹ p. 187.

² p. 214, 227.

“ and a short Exposition of the Catholic Faith, which
 “ for the Edification of the Church I have thought fit to
 “ give you by way of *Appendix*”. Hereupon follows
Gregory's Confession as you had it above.



C H A P. XIII.

*The Opinion of the six Bishops of the Council
 of Antioch, who wrote to Paulus Samosate-
 nus concerning the Consubstantiality of the
 Son, in which is shewn also that the Opinions
 of Pierius, Pamphilus, Lucian and Metho-
 dius, Martyrs, were Catholic, and exactly
 agreeing with the Nicene Creed.*

THE Heresy of *Paulus Samosatenus*, who denied
 the Divinity of our Lord, rose in the Days of
Gregorius Thaumaturgus, against whom the Ca-
 tholic Bishops often met at *Antioch*. Of these Bishops six
 of the Chief (whose Names were *Hymenaeus, Theophilus,*
Philotechnus, Maximus, Proclus, Bolanus) wrote to the said
Paulus a remarkable Epistle, which is now extant, ' before
 he was Excommunicated by the Anathema of the last and
 most frequented Meeting. In this Epistle, the Holy Fa-
 thers expressly teach, that the Son of God is God in his
 very Essence and Substance. For after that they had pro-
 fessed to deliver the Faith, which they had received from
 the beginning, and held, being delivered and preserved in
 the Catholic Church to this Day by Succession from the
 Apostles, who saw Christ with their own Eyes, and were
 made Ministers of the Word, which was preach'd also out
 of the Law, the Prophets, and the New Testament; after
 they have premised this Profession, they presently assert

* Tom. 11. Bibl. Patrum.

this to be the true and Apostolical Faith concerning Christ: *That he is the Wisdom, the Word, and the Power of God, existing before Ages, not in Foreknowledge, but in Essence and Subsistence, God and the Son of God.* Nevertheless *Petavius*¹ suffers not these Bishops to escape him without the note of Heterodoxy, though they (as we said) were the chief of the great Council of *Antioch*, and probably wrote the Epistle with the privy of the whole Synod. For thus the Jesuit writes concerning them: "Moreover those six Bishops, who wrote the Epistle to *Paulus Samosatenus*, before he was censured, propose certain Things concerning the Son, in it, something dissonant from the Catholic Rule of Faith: As when they say, that the Son fulfilled the Father's Will in creating the World, and that the Father commanded him to do it. Whence they confirm it, that the Son is different from the Father; because it is necessary he that commands should have some one to command. They add, that he fulfilling the Father's Will appeared to the Patriarchs, and upon that account had the name of the Angel." *Sandius*² catches greedily at this Censure of *Petavius*'s, that he may stuff his Pages with these great Names, as Advocates for *Arianism*. But though *Petavius*, or any other Person, should produce a thousand such placés, they would never persuade me that those Bishops were of *Arius*'s Mind. For I know, that all those Passages, either referred to the Subordination of the Son to the Father, as his Principle and Author; or to the Oeconomy, which the Son took upon him immediately after the Fall (as the last ought to be referred) admit a sound Catholic Sense, and agree with the Rule of Faith explained by the *Nicene* Fathers; although perhaps something different from the *Scholastic Theology* * (which *Petavius* admires

¹ In lib. 1. de Trin. c. 4. n. 9.
124.

² Eneucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 123.
* Dr. Clark, &c. frequently apply to their Readers upon this Head, and though they are by no means able to shew the Doctrine of their Adversaries to be at all different from the best Writings of Primitive Antiquity, brand it with the invidious Name of Scholastic Theology: An Honour those barbarous and subtle Men have little deserved; to be set upon the level with the inimitable Simplicity of the most early Writers.

too much in these Myſteries). But as to theſe ſix Biſhops I will ſhew hereafter by a famous Paſſage of their Epiſtle, that they thought the Son by Nature equal to the Father in all Things. In the mean time let us paſs on to the other Doctōrs of the Church.

2. *Pierius*, a Preſbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*, Maſter to *Pamphilus* the Martyr, flouriſh'd under *Clarus* and *Diocletian*, at the ſame time that *Theonas* governed that Church (according to *Jerome*¹). He was ſo voluminous, and ſo elegant an Author, that (as the ſame *Jerome* ſays) he was called the younger *Origen*. He was a Man of wonderful Aſterity, and an Affecter of voluntary Poverty. It is alſo ſaid (according to *Photius*²), that he ſuffered Martyrdom with his Brother *Iſidore*. All his Writings are loſt. But we learn from *Photius*, who had read his Volume of twelve Books, that he was a truly Catholic Writer in the Article concerning the Divinity of the Son of God. For thus he writes: “ He ſays many Things in “ an antique Way, perhaps, otherways than the preſent “ Cuſtom of the Church is: But he treats piously con- “ cerning the Father, and the Son, except that he calls “ them two *ὁνίας* and two *οὐνις*, uſing the Words *ὁνίας* “ and *οὐνις*, not as the *Arians* do, but, as is plain from “ the Context, for *ὑποστάσις* or Subſiſtences.” What *Pierius* wrote concerning the Son of God muſt be truly Catholic indeed to gain *Photius*’s Suffrage, that it was pious, and not *Arian*; *Photius*’s, I ſay, that rigid and ſevere Cenſor of the Antients, and who uſually brought their moſt innocent Sayings under the Suſpicion of *Arianism*. Beſides, when *Photius* ſays, that *Pierius*’s delivered many Things in the antient manner, and different from the preſent Uſage of the Church; and immediately adds, that the ſame *Pierius* believed piously concerning the Son of God, he manifeſtly ſhews that *Pierius*’s Doctrīne concerning the Son of God did perfectly agree with the Theology, at that time deemed Catholic. Now all Perſons, who know any Thing in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, know how far

¹ Catal. Script. Eccleſ. c. 87.

² Cod. 119.

from *Arianism* the Doctrine of the *Greek Church*, concerning the Son of God, was in the Age of *Photius*. As to what *Photius* says in the same place, namely, that *Pierius* did not teach piously concerning the Holy Spirit, but made it inferior to the Father and Son, it is easily defended from the Suspicion of Heresy. For the Holy Spirit is less than the Father and the Son in the same respect, in which the Son is less than the Father, *i. e.* with respect to his Origin. The Son is originated from the Father alone, the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son according to the *Western*, from the Father by the Son according to the *Eastern Church*. I'm persuaded really that this was all that *Pierius* intended. Hence it is plain, how falsely and impudently, but according to Custom, *Sandius* ¹ wrote, that *Pierius* taught (according to *Photius*) that *the Father and Son were two Natures or Essences*; the Words *Natures* and *Essences* being understood in Contradistinction to *Persons*. *Photius* does not say this, but the direct contrary; namely, that *Pierius* believed piously of the Father and Son; and that where he said the Father and the Son were two *ὑποστάσεις*, it was plain from the Context that he used the Word *ὑποστάσεις*, for Hypostases, and therefore only meant that the Father and Son are two Persons; a Catholic Doctrine, as I suppose, all Catholics will freely confess. But to proceed from the Master to the Scholar.:

3. St. *Pamphilus*, a Hearer of *Pierius*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, a famous Man, who suffered Martyrdom in *Maximin's* Persecution, being imprisoned with *Eusebius*, wrote a little before his Death, an Apology for *Origen* in five Books, to which *Eusebius* after his Death added a sixth. The first of *Pamphilus's* five is now extant among the Works of *Ferome*, being translated into *Latin* by *Ruffinus*, and publish'd by *Marianus Victorinus*. That this is truly the Martyr's, may easily be proved against *Ferome's* several contradictory Brangles about it. For it is plainly false, which *Ferome* writes, ² that *Ruffinus* alone had put out that Apology, under the

¹ Enecl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 126. ² Lib. 3. Apol. adv. Ruffin. cap. 4.

Name of the Martyr. The Greek Copies (as *Photius*¹ tells us, and the old Greek Author of an Apology for *Origen* in *Photius*) attribute it to *Pamphilus*. *Ferome* also often subtilly contends, that that Apology is *Eusebius*'s. For it is his indeed, but not his only ; it was made by the joint Labour of them both, of *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius*. This *Eusebius*² himself, who best knew it, expressly attests ; *What it is necessary to know of him* [*Origen*], *you may read in the Apology composed by me and my Contemporary, the Martyr Pamphilus ; a Work we wrought off by mutual Pains and Diligence against his forward Accusers.* *Photius* explains the Passage in *Eusebius* thus : “ There is the Book of *Pamphilus* the Martyr and *Eusebius*, for *Origen*. It is six “ Tomes. *Pamphilus* wrote five of them in his Confinement, when *Eusebius* was with him. *Eusebius* finish'd “ the sixth after *Pamphilus* had suffered, and was gone to “ that God he longed after.” But it is wonderful that *Ferome*, in the place above-cited, should endeavour to prove this Apology, not to be *Pamphilus*'s by this Argument chiefly : *Eusebius* writes, *That* * *Pamphilus* *had publish'd nothing of his own.* Here he produces *Eusebius* against *Eusebius* ! For the same *Eusebius*, as we saw above, expressly testifies, that *Pamphilus* laboured about that Apology. But *Ferome* might easily have untied this Knot, if he would, The Apology truly was not to be called *Pamphilus*'s own, because another, namely, *Eusebius* had a Hand in it. I have already said enough concerning the Credit of *Ruffinus*'s Version. Now it is abundantly clear from this Apology, that *Pamphilus* was Orthodox concerning the Divinity of Christ. For whilst the Holy Man endeavours to prove *Origen* a Catholic in that Work, because he taught in his Writings, That there is the same Immutability of the Holy Spirit, as of the Father and the Son ; that the Trinity is equal ; that the Holy Ghost is not a Creature ; that as the Father knows the beginning and end of all Things, so do the Son and the Holy Spirit ; that the Son

¹ Cod. 118 and 117. ² Euseb. p. 118. * *Why might he not have wrote something though, which Eusebius publish'd afterwards ?*

is of one Substance with the Father; whilst, I say, he endeavours to shew him to be Orthodox in these Heads, he plainly declares he held the same Propositions to be True and Catholic. Besides, it is no contemptible Argument of his Orthodoxy, that he was taught his Divinity by *Pierius*, who, as we have seen before, is allowed even by *Photius* to have believed altogether piously concerning the Father and the Son. Therefore that shameless Sophist *Sandius*¹ hath very unjustly placed the most Holy Martyr among the Favourers and Abettors of the Herefy, afterwards called *Arianism*.

4. St. *Lucian* comes next, a Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, a very eloquent Man, and one who took so much Pains in the Study of the Scriptures, as that in *Jerome's* time (as he says)² some Copies of them were, called *Lucian's*. He wrote Books concerning the Faith, and some short Epistles, which are all lost. He suffered for Christianity at *Nicomedia* in *Maximin's* Persecution, and was Buried at *Helenopolis* in *Bithynia*. *Petavius*³ has branded this blessed Man with Heterodoxy in the Article before us. *Sandius*⁴ at his Heels boasts of *Lucian* greatly, as a Patron of the *Arians*. Nay, *Huetius*⁵ himself, deceived, I suppose, by *Petavius*, reckons this Martyr amongst those who had commented falsely and absurdly upon the Trinity. But let us weigh the Arguments upon which their Censure is grounded. (1.) They say the *Arians* called themselves *Lucianists* from their Agreement in Faith with the Martyr *Lucian*. I confess it. But what honest prudent Man will believe such false Creatures? Thus they boasted of *Origen* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, as Men after their own Hearts. How vain and impudent this their glorying was, I think, I've sufficiently shewn before. As for *Lucian*, those Things are very remarkable which⁶ *Sozomen* tells us of the Council called by *Constantius's* Letter to *Antioch*, at the Consecration of a Church. The Bishops of

¹ Eneucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 126.

² Catal. Script. Eccles. c. 88.

³ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. n. 13.

⁴ Sand. Eneucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 127.

⁵ Origenian. lib. 2. c. 3. §. 6. p. 187.

⁶ Lib. 3. Ch. 5. p. 409

and 410.

that Synod (who were a great many of them either stanch *Arians*, or Favourers of that way) first publish'd a Confession of Faith widely different from the *Nicene*. Now, when they were thought to speak too meanly of the Son's Divinity, they publish'd another more full, and that upon this Account or Occasion. When they had staid a little longer than they expected at *Antioch*, they found a Creed wrote by *Lucian Martyr*, which, because it had not in it the *Homoousion*, and some of the Words seemed to favour their Heresy, they greedily embraced and adopted; for this end, no doubt, that they might persuade the ignorant that they held the Faith of the celebrated *Lucian Martyr*. For so *Sozomen* writes in the place cited: *They said they had found * this Creed wrote entire by Lucian, who suffered Martyrdom in Nicomedia.*

5. I shall not think it much to transcribe all of this Form, which concerns the Trinity (as we have it in *Athanasius*¹, *Socrates*², and others) for the sake of those Readers, who have not the Authors. Now *Lucian's* Creed, so much boasted of by the *Arians* as their own, thus professes concerning the Holy Trinity: " We believe agree-
 " ably to Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition, in one
 " God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Maker of all
 " Things; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his Only-be-
 " gotten Son, God, by whom all Things were made, be-
 " gotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God,
 " Whole of Whole, Alone of Alone, Perfect of Perfect,
 " King of King, Lord of Lord; the living Word, Wis-
 " dom, Life, the true Light, the Way of Truth, the
 " Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Door, Immutable and
 " Unchangeable, the exact Image of the Godhead, the
 " Essence, Power, Counsel, and Glory of the Father, the
 " First-born of every Creature, who was in the beginning
 " with God, God the Word, as it is written in the
 " Gospel, *The Word was God*; by whom all Things were
 " made, and in whom all Things consist, who in the last

* This *Sozomen* modestly suspects. ¹ p. 409 and 410. ² p. 72.
 p. 746.

“ Days came down from Heaven, and was born of the
 “ Virgin according to the Scriptures; and in the Holy
 “ Ghost, which was given to the Believers for their Con-
 “ solation, Sanctification, and Perfection; as our Lord
 “ Jesus Christ commanded his Disciples, saying, *Go ye*
 “ *therefore, Disciple all Nations, baptizing them into the Name*
 “ *of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost*; namely,
 “ of the Father, who is truly Father, of the Son, who is
 “ truly Son, and of the Holy Ghost, who is truly Holy
 “ Ghost. The Words not being simply Words, and of
 “ no Signification, but accurately denoting the Subsist-
 “ ence of every one named, and their Glory and Order;
 “ so that they are in Subsistence three, in Consent one.”

6. That this is *Lucian's* Creed, not one forged for him by the *Arians*, many Things prove. (1.) Those Bishops would have been very imprudent, and indeed impudent, to have publish'd a Creed under *Lucian's* Name, which was not his, at *Antioch*, where the Memory of the Holy Martyr was deservedly Sacred, and his Writings religiously preserved; so that the Fraud would have been detected by all very easily. But suppose they could deceive the People safely at this time, the Imposture could not be concealed long. But the *Arians* boasted of this Creed, as undoubtedly *Lucian's*, and that with great Assurance, many Years after; namely, in the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, when a Synod was assembled at *Tarsus*, a City of *Cilicia*. For then says the same *Sozomen*: “ About thirty-four *Asian* Bishops meeting in *Caria*, a Province of
 “ *Asia*, commended the Diligence used about the Unity
 “ of the Churches; rejected the *Homoousion*, and strenu-
 “ ously affirmed, that they ought to hold the Creed pub-
 “ lish'd at *Antioch* and *Seleucia*, as being the Creed of *Lu-*
 “ *cian Martyr*, and examined by their Predecessors, with
 “ much Peril and Labour.” Moreover, if the *Arians* had patch'd up this Creed, sure they would have made it more conformable to their Tenets, at least they would not have inserted such Things, as plainly ruin their Cause, of which

sort we will shew some by and bye. Lastly, This Confession of Faith is principally directed against the *Sabellian* Heresy, as is clear from those Things at the end of it. For after the Faith of the Trinity is largely explained, the Creed is at last concluded with this *Epilogue*, explaining the Sum and Substance of what has been said before: “Of the Father, I say, of a true real Father, of the Son, “a true Son, of the Holy Ghost, a real Holy Ghost; “so that these Words are not simple Words, and of no “Signification, but accurately denoting the Subsistence of “every one named, and their Glory and Order; so that “they are in Subsistence three, in Consent one.” Now what had these Things to do with the *Arian* Controversy, which was agitated in the Council of *Antioch*? But in *Lucian’s* Days the *Sabellian* Doctrine prevailed most, and *Lucian* is said to be a very brisk Opposer of it. By way of *Appendix* take *Philostorgius’s* Observation¹, where speaking of *Lucian Martyr’s* Disciples, who had not kept their Master’s Doctrine entire, he says, that *Asterius* had perverted the Notion, and testified in his Words and Writings, *That the Son is the exact Image of the Father’s Essence*. Now *Asterius* borrowed that from *Lucian’s* Creed *verbatim*, as will appear by Collation.

7. Now if this Creed be indeed *Lucian’s*, he was undoubtedly a Catholic in this Article of the Divinity of the Son. For this Creed, except that the Word *Consubstantial* is not in it, is in other respects the same with the *Nicene*, as *Sozomen* has rightly observed in the Place aforecited. Wherefore, if you regard the Thing it self, and lay aside all Contention about Words, the *Arians* might as well, and for the same Reason, call themselves Assertors of the *Nicene* Creed, as *Lucianists*. Yea, I dare almost affirm, that the absolute Divinity of the Son is in some sort more effectually and significantly expressed in the Creed of *Lucian* than the *Nicene*. For the Words, *God of God, whole of whole, perfect of perfect*, in *Lucian’s* Confession, do more expressly declare the perfect Divinity of the Son, and his Nature equal to the Father’s, than those Words of the *Nicene*

¹ P. 475.

Creed, *God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God*; and those Words in *Lucian's* Creed, which seem to favour the *Arians* somewhat, *Hilary* excellently demonstrates to be perfectly Catholic. ¹ The Words are these:

“ Therefore the Synod of Holy Men assembled (*Hilary*
 “ did indeed think this Creed so Catholic, that he be-
 “ lieved it came from Catholics assembled in Council at
 “ *Antioch*) desirous to put an end to that Impiety, which
 “ eluded the Truth of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, by
 “ a number of Names, so that, though there was no sub-
 “ sisting Cause of every one of their Names, the three
 “ Names should have an Union under the Fallacy of the
 “ Names; so that the Father alone, one and the same,
 “ should have the name of Son and Holy Spirit; desirous
 “ to put an end to this Impiety, said there were three Sub-
 “ stances, by Substances meaning subsisting Persons, not
 “ separating the Substance of the Father, Son and Holy
 “ Spirit, by a Diversity of a like Nature. As to what is
 “ said, that they are three in Substance, but in Consent one,
 “ there is here no ground for Calumny: Because the Spi-
 “ rit or Paraclete being named with them, it was more fit
 “ that an Unity of Consent should be asserted, than an
 “ Unity of Essence by a Similitude of Substance. For all
 “ that had gone before made no difference of Essence be-
 “ tween the Father and Son. For where it is said God of
 “ God, whole of whole, it is not doubted that whole
 “ God was born of whole God. The Nature of God of
 “ God is not different. He is whole of whole in those
 “ things, in which the Father is whole. One of one, ex-
 “ cludes every Thing of humane Birth and Conception;
 “ so that while he is one of one, he is not of another, dif-
 “ ferent, or another who is one of one. Perfect of perfect;
 “ Nativity differs not from Innascibility except in the cause
 “ of Origen, when the Perfection of both is Equal. King
 “ of King: The Power express by one and the same name
 “ in both is not different. Lord of Lord: The Domi-
 “ nion also is equal in the Lord, nor can there be a differ-
 “ ence in the Dominion, when both are confessed to have

¹ In Lib. de Synod. adv. Arianos, p. 228.

“ it without difference. But that which is added after
 “ many other Things, *i. e.* that he is the inconvertible
 “ and unchangeable Image of the Father’s Essence, Power
 “ and Glory, is absolute. For God of God, whole of
 “ whole, one of one, perfect of perfect, King of King,
 “ and Lord of Lord, when he is born, and doth subsist
 “ as the Son, in all that Glory of the Divinity, and that
 “ Nature, in which the Father is, hath this also from the
 “ Father’s Substance, that he is made Immutable. For that
 “ Nature, of which he was born, is not changed in him
 “ that is born; but he that was born obtained the immu-
 “ table Nature by the Authority, or Gift of the immuta-
 “ ble Nature. For though he is the Image, he is the im-
 “ mutable Image; the Nature, of which he was begotten,
 “ not being changed in him by a Dissimilitude of the pa-
 “ ternal Nature, because in him the Image of the paternal
 “ Nature was born. Now when he is called the first-
 “ born of the whole Creation, it is taught that he always
 “ was in the beginning with God. He is called God the
 “ Word, being first born. He is signified to us as born,
 “ though he was always, and is not separated in time from
 “ the Father. That can’t then seem a Division of Substances,
 “ which intended nothing else than by the name of three
 “ Persons, to exclude the Union of three Words, being in-
 “ troduced to take away the Notion of a different Sub-
 “ stance in the Father and Son; because the Exposition of
 “ the whole Creed, makes no difference between the Father,
 “ and the Son, the unbegotten and the only-begotten in
 “ Time, Name, Nature, Dignity, or Dominion”. And
 thus have we fully refuted the former Argument, by which
 some Persons have endeavoured to prove that *Lucian Mar-*
tyr favoured the *Arian* Heresy, the Argument drawn from
 the boasts of the *Arians* concerning their consent with
Lucian.

8. But Learned Men depend the most upon the Testi-
 mony of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who in an Epi-
 stle to his Name-fake *Alexander* of *Constantinople*, after men-
 tion made of *Paulus Samosatenus*, immediately adds these
 Words:

Words: ¹ *Whom Lucian succeeded, (in Error) and was many Years excluded from the Communion of three Bishops.* But I answer, that *Alexander* either spoke of another *Lucian* (which is upon this account probable, that he did not call him *Lucian Martyr*,) or that he was quite mistaken. For that *Lucian Martyr* embraced the Blasphemy of *Paulus Samosatenus*, and therefore remained Excommunicate under three Bishops successively (which *Alexander* says of his *Lucian*) is contrary to the Faith of all History. *Eusebius*, who lived in the Age of *Lucian Martyr*, tells another Story of him: ² *Lucian, the Presbyter of that Church, and one of the Martyrs of Antioch, was a very good Man all his Life. In Nicomedia, he preach'd up the Heavenly Kingdom of Christ, first in Word by an Apology, and afterwards in Deed, when the King was present.* How did *Eusebius* call him a very good Presbyter all his Life, who for many Years under three Bishops successively (as they say) remained Excommunicate for the Heresy of *Paulus Samosatenus*? *Eusebius* ³ mentions *Theodotus Coriarius* Excommunicated by *Victor* for that Heresy, and *Natalis* the Confessor seduced by *Theodotus*, and therefore Excommunicated. Lastly, he largely relates the Fall of *Raulus* ⁴ into Heresy, and his being anathematized for it by the Council of *Antioch*. Who then can believe, if *Lucian Martyr* was Excommunicate for the Heresy of *Paulus Samosatenus* under three Bishops, that *Eusebius* would say nothing of so remarkable a Matter acted in his own Times; much less, that he would commend *Lucian* as a very good Presbyter all his Life, and one who assisted the Kingdom of Christ in Words and Deeds? Besides, *Jerome*, as we have seen, greatly praises *Lucian Martyr* in his Catalogue, not only for the Sanctity of his Life, but also for his Doctrine and Knowledge of the Scriptures, and making mention of his Books concerning the Faith, censures nothing in them as different from the Catholick Faith. More-

¹ Theodoret's Hist. Eccles. Book I. Ch. 4. p. 15. Vide Valef. notas, p. 6, 7. ² Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Book VIII. Ch. 13. p. 251. Vide etiam Libr. 9. cap. 6. p. 287. ³ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. p. 159, 160. ⁴ p. 226, &c.

over, in his Preface to the *Chronicles* he says, that in his Time the Catholics from *Constantinople* to *Antioch* approved and received *Lucian's* Translation of the Scriptures. ¹ Besides, *Sozomen* says, that *Lucian* was in other respects a very famous Man, and exceeding exact in the Holy Scriptures. It is plain then, that neither *Eusebius*, nor *Jerome*, nor *Sozomen* had heard any thing of any Heresy or Schism of *Lucian Martyr's*. Therefore, not too strenuously to deny that *Lucian Martyr* might have the same fate in his Dispute with the *Sabellians*, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus*; namely, be accused before the Bishops of the Church for denying the true Divinity of Christ, because he endeavoured to prove from the Properties of his Humanity, that he was not the Father; yet I cannot easily be brought to believe that the blessed Man did indeed embrace the Blasphemies of *Paulus Samosatenus*, and therefore cut himself off from the Church (so *Alexander* speaks of his *Lucian*) during the time of three Bishops successively. For, (as I before said) all the Ecclesiastical History, and the Confession of Faith, which the *Arians* ascribe to him, are against it. But yet, if I should grant over and above, that *Alexander* did really write thus concerning *Lucian Martyr*, it would be of very little Service to the *Arian* cause. For *Alexander* testifies that *Lucian* embraced the *Samosatenian* Heresy, which the *Arians* condemn. But if they say that herein was *Alexander's* mistake, namely, in thinking the Error of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Lucian*, and *Arius* the same, they will not mend the Matter. For then, for one Voucher, namely, *Lucian*, they will have the whole Catholic Church against them, in the time of *Lucian*. And the Doctrine of this *Lucian* (whoever he was) was so contrary to the Catholic Doctrine, that he could not (according to *Alexander*) retain his Heresy and the Communion of the Church together.

9. I will close this Chapter with a brief Examination of the Doctrine and Faith of St. *Methodius*. He (according to *Jerome* ²) was first Bishop of *Olympus* in *Lycia* and afterwards of *Tyre*, a close and elegant Writer against *Porphry*

¹ p. 410.

² Catal. Script. Eccles. c. 94.

and *Origen*, and famous for his other Pieces. At the end of the last Persecution under *Diocletian* and *Maximinian*, he was crowned with *Martyrdom* at *Calcis*, a City of *Greece*. Of the many Things he wrote, we only have a Sympo- sion of his entire, if that ; for I shall hereafter shew that it has been interpolated by Heretics. We have very many of his Fragments and Excerpts in *Photius* and other Authors, from which I shall especially collect his Opinion and Faith in the Son of God. In the Book of Martyrs in ¹ *Theodo- ret* he names Christ *the Lord, the Son of God, who thought it not robbery to be equal with God*. Which Words *Petavius* ² owns not consistent with any but the true God. The same Person in his Book of the Creatures, in *Photius*, ³ makes this note upon the Words of St. *John*, *In the be- ginning was the Word, &c.* “ We must say that the Princi- ple, from which the very Word sprung, was the Father, “ the Maker of all Things, in whom he was. Now this, “ *He was εν αἰχῇ with God*, seems to shew the Authori- “ tative Power he had with the Father, before the World “ came into being ; for he uses the Word *αἰχῇ*, for Au- “ thority”. For, in that he says, that the Word sprung from the Father, as from his Root, that it is and was in him, that it had Authority and Dominion with him before the Creation, he absolutely declares the Consubstantiality of the Word, and excepts him out of the Rank of those Things, that are created of Nothing, and placed in a ser- vile State. But here it is to be observed, that *Methodius* in this Book professedly opposed the Error which was charg- ed upon *Origen*, in which he was said thus to have proved the Eternity of created Things, because otherwise God could not have been eternally Lord, since nothing had ex- isted from Eternity, upon which he could exercise Domi- nion. Against this Fancy *Methodius* excellently shews, that God the Father and the Son had an Authoritative Pow- er, before the Creation ; for as much as God the Father, with his Word, was able to produce Creatures for his Do-

¹ Dial. 1. p. 37. ² Præf. in Tom. 2. c. 4. n. 5. ³ Cod. 234. p. 907. p. 939.

minion, whensoever he pleased; in the mean time that he wanted Nothing, being from Eternity perfectly Blessed, and not standing in need of any Thing, which should be created afterwards, for the compleating his Happiness. The same *Methodius* in his *Symposion* ¹ says that Christ is, (was not made) the Son of God, *i. e.* is the Son of God by Nature, not by Creation, or Adoption. In the same Place he also says that the Son of God had no beginning of Existence, nor shall have any End, but is always the Same. This is the Property of the true God only, at least according to *Methodius*, who in his Book of the Creatures before-cited, contends in many Arguments against *Origen*, or rather the Interpolator of *Origen*, who asserts the Eternity of the World, That whatsoever has no Beginning is uncreated, and that nothing is Eternal but God. We will recite the entire Passage hereafter. ²

10. To these express Words *Petavius* opposes one Opinion of *Methodius* ³ out of his Book of the Creatures, in these Words: "Now we say that there are two creative Powers in the aforesaid, &c: One who by his bare Will, instantly as soon he wills, makes what he will out of Nothing. This is the Father. The other, who sets in order, and adorns the Things already made, in Imitation of the former. This is the Son, the Great and Almighty Hand of God the Father, by which after he had made Matter out of Nothing, he made the World." Here *Petavius* ⁴ censures three Things as not agreeable to Catholic Doctrine. (1.) That *Methodius* calls the Father and Son two Powers. (2.) That he makes the one Power, the Father, to create of himself; the other, the Son, to work after him, from him, and in Imitation of him. (3.) That he attributes to the Father the Creation out of nothing, as it were excluding the Son, to whom he only grants the adorning the Creatures. But all these Things easily admit, and even require a Catholic Sense, upon which account neither hath *Photius* censured them: As to the first,

¹ p. 959. ² Sect. 3. c. 4. n. 7. ³ p. 938. Cod. 235. ⁴ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. n. 12.

The Father and Son are more justly called two Powers by *Methodius*, than two Natures, or Essences by the other Fathers, who notwithstanding are esteemed Catholic in this Article. For these Words are only taken personally (as they speak, and as we have shewed before). For the second; that the Father alone doth work of himself, What Catholic would deny it? This is the Property of the Father to Exist and Work of himself: But the Son was both his Existence and Operation to the Father. In which respect also the Son is said to do his Works in Imitation of the Father. See *Maldonate* upon *John v. v. 19.* *Gregory Nazianzen*¹ hath well expressed the Sense of *Methodius*, and of the other Fathers and Holy Scriptures in these Words: Namely, *The Father exhibiteth the Forms of the Things themselves, and the Word finisheth them, not servilely, not ignorantly, but wisely, powerfully, and to speak still more properly, paternally.* You may there read more of the same, well worthy your Notice. *Petavius*² himself doth elsewhere approve this saying of *Nazianzen*, and makes this Note upon it: “ Whence it is manifest that the Father’s informing the
 “ Son, or teaching him what is to be done, and as it were,
 “ going before him, and pointing it out to him, is nothing
 “ else, but, by the Generation of him, the communicating
 “ to him the Wisdom of making all Things, their Forms
 “ and Ideas, together with his Nature and Essence”. It is no difficult matter to wipe off the last Part of the Censure, namely, that *Methodius* attributes the Creation out of nothing to the Father, as it were exclusive of the Son. But indeed he no more excludes the Son from the Creation, than the Father from the Disposition or Decoration. Nay, in the last Words of the Place cited, he plainly says that the Father by the Son, or in the Son, created and disposed Matter. Besides, how can *Methodius* be thought to have said, that the Father created all Things out of nothing without the Son, when in that same Place he expressly calls the Son the Almighty Hand of God. Hath the Father made, or created any Thing without his Almighty

¹ Orat. 36. Tom. 1. p. 584.² De Trin. lib. 2. c. 4. §. 6.

Hand? What then? Why, we must repeat the Words afore-cited out of *Huetius*, for the illustrating a Passage in *Origen*. The Sum of them is this: Although the external acts of the Trinity are one and the same, yet some are both, in the Holy Scriptures, and the Antients, assigned to the Father, some to the Son, and some to the Holy Ghost. So *Methodius* in this Place has especially attributed the Creation to the Father, as the Fountain of the Divinity; and the wise Ordination, Disposition and Decoration of it to the Son, as being usually called the Reason, the Counsel, the Wisdom of the Father. We cannot fully comprehend, why this manner of speaking is used; but therefore to reject these Things in those Mysteries, is extreme Folly and Rashness. Now it is certain, *Methodius* never dreamt of attributing the Creation to the Father, so as to exclude the Son. For *Photius* cites a Place from this very Book of the Creatures, and that immediately after the Words which *Petavius* censures, in which the Creation of the World is also expressly ascribed to the Son. For upon those Words of *Genesis*, *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*, he thus discourses: "If any one should call the Beginning the Wisdom, he would not be out of the way. For she is introduced by one of the sacred Writers speaking of her self thus: *The Lord made me the beginning of his ways for his Works, he founded me before Ages*. For it was fit and decent that all Things, which came into being, should be younger than her by whom they were made". Where it is clear by *Wisdom* is meant the Son of God.

II. *Sandius* ¹ also objects to *Methodius* some improper Expressions concerning the Trinity, which *Possinus*, his Editor, has observed in the *Symposion*. But *Photius* supplies us with an Answer to this Objection, who expressly cautions us concerning *Methodius's Symposion*, ² that it was for the greatest part depraved in his time, and interpolated by Heretics. His Words are these: "We must observe, that this Dialogue, inscribed a *Symposion*, or

¹ Enecl. Histor. lib. 1. p. 128. ² p. 963. Cod. 237.

"Concern-

“ *Concerning Purity*, is much adulterated. For you will
 “ find in it vile *Arian* Opinions, and the Devices of cer-
 “ tain other evil Thinkers.” Here the Reader will ob-
 serve with me, that, whereas *Photius* only cautions us a-
 gainst the *Symposion* of *Methodius*, as having several
 Patches of *Arianism*, and other Heresy tack’d to it, he
 plainly shews by this, that no such Things occurred in his
 other Writings, extant in his Times. For how could
Photius gather, that the *Symposion* of *Methodius* was adul-
 terated, and for this Reason, because there did occur in
 it very often *Arian* Opinions ; unless from his other Wri-
 tings, which were many, it did plainly appear, that his
 constant Doctrine concerning the Son of God was contra-
 ry to the *Arian* Reveries ? This surely is an excellent Ar-
 gument for *Methodius*’s Orthodoxy in this particular. In
 the mean time, there are still many Footsteps of the genuine
 Doctrine of *Methodius* in this Piece, some of which we
 have laid before you, and might give you more, if it sig-
 nified any Thing.

Dr. GRABE’s *Annotations upon* Lucian.

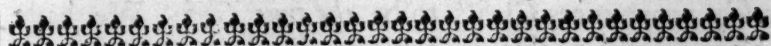
TO confirm *Lucian*’s Character for Orthodoxy, these
 Words of *Suidas* are of no small Use : “ One may
 “ find the Purity of the Divine Doctrines preserved to the
 “ Height by this Man, and the best of any of his Times.
 “ He put out several very excellent Epistles, whence any
 “ one may easily discover, what Opinion he was of con-
 “ cerning the Divinity.” To which Testimony of *Sui-
 das* we may ascribe the more, because he confirms it from
 the very Epistles, which he cites, which, if now in be-
 ing, would give us further Satisfaction concerning this
 Matter. But they are all lost, except one Fragment pre-
 served by the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, An.
 303.

A DEFENCE of

Upon METHODIUS.

IN reading the *Feast of the Virgins* by Methodius in the large *Bibliotheca*¹, in which it is Extant in *Latin* only, I met with these places concerning the Divinity of Christ, and the Mystery of the Trinity. Thus he speaks of the Word: ² “ Though he was God, he took upon him “ Humane Flesh, for this purpose, that we beholding the “ Divine Exemplar of his Life set before us as in a Table, “ might imitate the Exactness of a Painter in copying it.” Again, ³ he says, “ Christ the Man was full of the pure “ and perfect Divinity, and as God, was after some sort “ included in the Man.” And a little after, “ For that “ he was, and truly is, God existing in the beginning with “ God, and existing as God, Governour and Pastor of “ the Heavenly, &c.” Again, ⁴ “ Mention of the Number 3. is thrown in to insinuate the necessary Notion of “ the Holy and well-boding Trinity.” Lastly, After he had mentioned the Heretics, who *err being deluded about one of the Persons of the Trinity, sometimes about the Father, sometimes about the Son, and sometimes about the Holy Ghost*; he adds the following Words concerning the Orthodox Faith of the Catholic Church mystically signified, according to *Methodius*, by the 1260 Days in the *Apocalyps*, *Ch. 12.* ⁵ “ Moreover the 1260 Days, in which we are “ *Pilgrims* here, is the exact and the best Knowledge of “ the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, according to the “ right Faith, in which our Mother rejoiceth, and by “ which she is nourished and groweth, &c.” There are also one or two other Tracts under the Name of *Methodius*, out of which many clear Testimonies of the Son’s Consubstantiality, and the Catholic Profession of the Trinity might be alledged; but I forbear, because I suspect them to be either supposititious, or interpolated. Of these I shall speak, God willing, in my *Spicilegium* of the Fathers of the third Century.

¹ Tom. 3. ² p. 678. Orat. 1. ³ Orat. 2. p. 681. ⁴ Orat. 5. p. 686. ⁵ Orat. 8. p. 693.



C H A P. XIV.

The Opinion and Faith of Arnobius Afer and Lactantius, the close of this Section.

THERE are two other Authors a little before the Council of Nice, *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, the Master and Scholar. The former of them *Arnobius* had a very flourishing School of *Rhetoric* at *Sicca* in *Africa*, in the Reign of *Dioclesian*, as *Jerome* ¹ says in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He also tells us in his *Chronicles*, *An. 20. of Constantine*, that this *Arnobius*, when he instructed the Youth at *Sicca* to declaim, and yet a Heathen, was in a Dream called to the Faith, and could not obtain it from the Bishops by reason of his former Opposition to it; but was upon the Writing some very elegant Books against his former Religion (as upon the giving Pledges of his Piety) admitted into the Covenant. These Books are in Number seven, intituled against the *Gentiles*. After many other Editions, they have been printed off lately at *Leyden*, * *An. 1651. in Quarto*, together with the learned Comments of several Persons. This Edition I shall follow. In this Work he very often and very plainly confesses the true Divinity of the Son. Speaking of the Miracles of Christ, he writes thus: ² “Now it was manifest that Christ did all that he did, not by any Means, or the Observation of any Rite, or by Rule, but only by the Power of his Name; and, as was proper and agreeable to, as was worthy of the true God, that he bestowed nothing by the Liberality of his munificent Power, that did, or could hurt, but what was helpful, salutary, and very assisting.” Where he ex-

¹ C. 90. * This Edition not being in my Hands, I'm forced to cite that Printed at Doway 1634. ² p. 25. lib. 1.

pressly pronounces Christ to be *the true God*. We have a place parallel to this in the same Book, where after he had said that Christ *did equally relieve the Good and the Bad*; he adds, ¹ “For this is the Property of the true God, “and of Royal Power to deny his Bounty to none.” In the same Book, when the Heathen asks, *If Christ was God, why he was seen in the Form of Man, and killed after the manner of Man*? He answers thus: ² “Could that “invisible Power, that incorporeal Substance otherwise “communicate himself to the World, and be present at “the Councils of Men, than by assuming some covering “of more solid Matter, which might receive the darted “Ray of the Eye, and upon which our dull Sight might “fix. What mortal is there that could see him, that “could behold him, if he should give himself to the “World, such as he in his primigenial Nature is, such “as he would have been in his own Quality, in his Deity? He therefore took upon him the Form of a Man, “and veiled his Power under the Similitude of our kind, “that he might be seen and beheld.” In the same place: ³ “But he was killed after the manner of Man. Not he “himself. For the Divinity is not subject to Death; “nor can that which is one, simple, and not made of “any Parts, be destroyed by Dissolution. Who then was “seen to hang upon the Cross, who dy’d? The Man “which he put on, and carried about with him.” Here he says, the better Nature of Christ was *Divine, Incorruptible, One, Simple, and not made up of any Parts*; Attributes, which belong not to any created Nature.

2. But there is no Occasion to lead the Reader round about. I’ll cite two places, in which *Arnobius* does professedly, and as clearly as possible, declare the absolute Divinity of the Son. In the first Book he answers that Objection of the *Gentiles*: *Ye Worship a Man*. ⁴ “Altho’ “it was true, yet for the many and liberal Gifts he hath “bestowed upon us, he might be called God. But since “he is really God, without the Ambiguity of a doubt,

¹ p. 28.² p. 36.³ Ibid.⁴ p. 23, 24.

“ do ye think we will deny, that we very greatly wor-
 “ ship him, and that he is called by us the Prince, the
 “ Head of our Body ? Will any mad, angry, rash Crea-
 “ ture say then, Is that Christ God ? We will answer,
 “ He is God, God of the inward Powers, and (which
 “ frets the Infidels most of all) sent to us by the supreme
 “ King upon Business of the greatest Moment.” The
 other place in the same Book stands thus : “ There is
 “ nothing, as you suppose, magical, humane, delusive, sub-
 “ tle, or fraudulent hidden in Christ, though you, as
 “ your manner is, deride him, and wanton in ridicule up-
 “ on him. He was the sublime God, God from the ve-
 “ ry Root, God from the unknown Realms, God sent a
 “ Saviour by the Prince of all Things. Whom neither
 “ the Sun it self, nor any of the Stars (if they had Sense),
 “ nor the Governours or Princes of the World, nor lastly,
 “ the great Gods, those who feigning themselves Gods
 “ terrify Mankind, could know, or suspect, whence he
 “ came, or who he was.” In these places *Arnobius* ex-
 pressly teaches, that the Son is called God, not abusively
 (as Angels, Magistrates, and excellent Men are sometimes
 called Gods) but certainly, really, and without Ambigui-
 ty, that is, most truly and properly. This condemns the
 Craft of the impious *Arians*, who refuse not to call the
 Son God, but have deceived good Men with the ambi-
 guous Use of the Name. Besides, he calls him the sub-
 lime God, God from the very Root, God the Saviour,
 God the most greatly to be worshipped, the incomprehen-
 sible God whom no Creature can conceive. Can any
 Thing be more magnificently spoken of the Son of God ?
 If it offends any one, that still *Arnobius* calls the Father
the supreme King, the Prince of All ; let him know and re-
 member (what I’m often forced to repeat) that this is to
 be referred to that Eminence which is proper to the Father,
 as he is the Fountain and Head of the Trinity, which the
 sacred Writers and the *Nicene* and *Ante-Nicene* Fathers pre-
 served whole and entire, and of which we will speak more
 largely in its properly place, *Sect. 4.*

‘ p. 31. Lib. 1.

X 4

. Sandius

3. *Sandius* notwithstanding places this *Arnobius* amongst the *Ante-Nicene* Writers, who were *Arius's* Predecessors in his Heresy. For in the *Index* of his Book, he says, *Arnobius was of Arius's Mind*. For Proof he sends his Reader to the 127th Page. How then does he prove it ? “ *Arnobius*, says he, taught, that it was Religious to worship the unbegotten God, that the true God should never be begotten ; that God alone is unbegotten, that there is one Father of all Things, immortal, unbegotten, alone, and that there is nothing before him ; that it follows, that all those whom Men have thought to be Gods, are either begotten of him, or brought forth at his Command ; and if brought forth, and begotten, of an inferior Order and Time ; if of an inferior Order and Time, that they necessarily had a Cause, a beginning of Nativity and Life. That he is not true God, who has Father and Mother, Grandfathers and Grandmothers, Brothers, was lately formed in the Womb of his Mother, finish'd and perfected in ten Months, conceived and born of the Womb of a Woman, who arrived at the end of his Age by the Degrees of Years ; for that the Almighty God is not begotten, but unbegotten.” But here * *Sandius* shews himself either a very negligent Reader of *Arnobius*, or an egregious Sophister and Prevaricator. For what Man in his Senses, who has ever attentively read the Prince of the *African* Eloquence, can be ignorant that all these Things are spoken by him against the Superstition of the Heathen, who gave Divine Worship to mere Men, who were born, and died like

* Dr. Whitby is guilty of the same Misrepresentation, and that from the same Passages, which *Sandius* insists upon. I would once for all observe upon that peculiar Way of answering, which this learned Person uses, not in this part of his Book only, but almost throughout it ; namely, the opposing certain places of the Fathers to others alledged by his Adversaries ; taking it for granted, that the Authors must either have contradicted themselves, or meant all on his side, though they spoke a great deal on the other ; and rarely, nay, never attempting to disprove what the Orthodox assert, that these seeming Difficulties are easily solved, and that the sublime Things spoke of our Lord have a real literal Sense, as well as the humble ones.

themselves ?

themselves? Do these Things make at all against the true Divinity of Christ, who was God and Man? Yea, they confirm it. For when *Arnobius* (as *Sandius* confesses) has affirmed that the true God must be unbegotten, that is uncreated; must have no beginning of his Nativity; that is, must be Eternal; and yet has very often and very plainly taught, that Christ (as we have seen) is absolutely true God; it hence clearly follows, that Christ in his better Nature, with respect to which he is called God, is (as *Arnobius* thinks) absolutely uncreate and eternal. So from what the same *Arnobius* hath taught, that the true God is one; and hath also taught, that the Son as well as the Father is true God, we may surely conclude that *Arnobius* thought the Son was one God with the Father, though different in Person. What *Sandius* subjoins, namely, that (according to *Arnobius*) *Christ came into the World to preserve the Empire of the supreme King*, is absolutely Catholic, as it is referred (and it ought to be so) to the Exinanition of the Son, in which, having taken upon him the Form of a Servant, he became obedient to God the Father. Indeed I'm ashamed, and grieved so often to repeat such insipid Cavils.

4. I will now briefly speak of *Lactantius's* Doctrine, the Explication of which shall conclude this long Section. He was a Writer that knew little of Christianity, and was better seen in Rhetoric than Divinity. Upon this Account Pope *Damasus* rather thought him a Scholar than a Churchman, and *Jerome* commended him more for the Elegance of his Language, than his Knowledge of the Gospel. Indeed he was never reckoned among the Ecclesiastical Doctors, so that it is scarce worth the knowing, what he thought or wrote. But behold Reader, and admire the Force of Catholic Tradition. This same *Lactantius*, though he had elsewhere delivered very absurd and ridiculous Things concerning the manner of the Son's Generation, through his Ignorance of the Holy Scripture, and the Doctrine of the Church (if that be *Lactantius's*) was not ignorant of the Excellence of this Doctrine, and in his Writings hath taught directly contrary to *Arianism*. For he clearly affirms, that the Son of God is of

one

one Substance with the Father, is one God, doth receive and contain the whole of the Father. See the express places. In the fourth Book he proposes the Objection of the Heathens against the Christian Doctrine concerning the Son of God, in these Words : " Perhaps some Body may ask, how we say that we Worship one God, and yet assert that there are two, God the Father, and God the Son ; which Assertion throws very many into the greatest Error. To whom, when what we say seems probable, they think we are in this one Thing mistaken, that we confess an other and a mortal God." To this Objection he thus answers : * " We have already spoken of the Mortality, now let us treat of the Unity. When we say God the Father, and the Son, we don't say different, nor do we separate them both ; because the Father can't be without the Son, nor can the Son be separated from the Father. For he can't be call'd Father without a Son, nor can the Son be begotten without a Father. Since therefore the Father makes the Son, and the Son the Father, there is one Mind, one Spirit, one Substance to them both. But the Father is as an overflowing Fountain, the Son as a Stream running from it ; the one is like the Sun, the other as a Ray projected from it ; who, because faithful and dear to his supreme Father, is not separated, as the River is not from the Fountain, nor the Ray from the Sun ; because both the Water of the Fountain is in the River, and the Light of the Sun in the Ray." If *Lactantius* had been of *Arius's* Mind, he would have given another Answer to this Objection, namely, ye are much mistaken, ye Philosophers, if you think that we Christians, whilst we preach up God the Father, and God the Son, do really introduce two Gods : For we call the Father God in one Sense, and the Son in another ; we call the Father God in a true and proper Sense, but the Son in an abusive and improper Sense, since he is no more indeed than a

* *Lactantius Lugduni* 1594. lib. 4. ch. 29. in ipso initio. p. 390.
 * *Aeternum must certainly be Alterum.*

mere Creature, different in Essence from God, made of nothing, by Adoption, and Grace only taken into the Honour and Dignity of the Divine Name. But *Lactantius* never dreamt of any such Thing; even he was better acquainted with the Catholic Doctrine, than to put off such Dotage as Christian Tenets. How does he untie the Knot then? He confesses from the Opinion of the Christians, that the Son is as truly and properly called God as the Father, as being not only one Mind, but one Spirit and Substance with the Father; the very Thing which the *Nicene* Fathers intended, when they decreed that God the Father and God the Son were Consubstantial; and yet he contends strenuously that there were not two Gods præch'd among the Christians. He explains this two Ways: (1.) God the Father and God the Son do not exist separately, as two Men, but undivided from one another, so that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; as the Sun and his Rays, the Fountain and the River are not separated from one another. Again, there is one Fountain and Principle of the Divinity, namely, the Father, from whom the Son is derived, as a Ray from the Sun, and a River from the Fountain. What can be more Catholic? For thus, just thus, all the Orthodox Fathers, *Ante-Nicene* and *Post-Nicene* explained the Unity of the Father and the Son, as shall be shewn hereafter. Here indeed some Persons blame this, namely, that *Lactantius* should compare the Father to an exuberant Fountain, as though the Son was a Rivulet from that Fountain, a small Portion of the Father's Substance. They have always been thought by me very partial, who would strain to the utmost the Similies brought by the Fathers, to illustrate after some sort the ineffable Mystery of the Divine Generation. Surely it is manifest that *Lactantius* intended no such Thing, and that from the express Words which follow in the same Chapter: "Wherefore, says he, since the Mind and Will of the one is in the other, or rather one Mind and Will in both, both are rightly

* p. 392. in fine.

†† called

“ called one God, because whatsoever is in the Father
 “ passes to the Son, and whatsoever is in the Son descends
 “ from the Father.” If whatsoever is in the exuberant
 Fountain of the Divinity, the Father passes to the Son (as
Lactantius affirms) then surely the Son is not, properly
 speaking, a part of the Divinity, but God of God, Whole
 of Whole, Perfect of Perfect, as we have before heard
 from the Creeds of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* and *Lucian Mar-*
tyr. Parallel to these are the Words of *Lactantius* ¹ con-
 cerning the Son of God, namely, *That God the Father used*
him in the contriving, adorning, and perfecting all Things, as
his Counsellor and Artificer, because he is perfect in Provi-
dence, Reason, and Power. *Lactantius* therefore dreamt of
 nothing diminish'd, or imperfect in the Son of God.

5. Thus at length have we proved by the clearest Testi-
 monies cited from every one of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers,
 whose whole Works, or whose Fragments are to be met
 with, our second Thesis, namely, *That the Son of God is*
Consubstantial with God the Father, i. e. not of any created or
mutable Essence, but altogether of the same Divine incommu-
table Nature with his Father; and therefore it was the constant
unanimous Opinion of the Catholic Doctors, who flourish'd in
the three first Centuries, that he was very God of very God.
 If any one wonder that this Section has grown to this
 length, I would have him consider that here I have ex-
 plained from the Writings of the Antients, the Excellen-
 cy of the Doctrine of the Son's Divinity; and in what
 remains, shall only treat of the Consequences from it, and
 those Things that are agreeable to it. Here was the Hinge
 of the Question: Here the greatest Pains was requisite.
 Add that in this Section, most of the Writers of the three
 first Ages were first named, and therefore it was in some
 sort useful to give the Reader their History; which once
 known, there will be no further Occasion to acquaint
 him with their Age, Authority, &c. Many Writings of
 the Antients also were here first cited, concerning which
 the Learned are in Controversy, whether they are theirs,

whose Names they bear. In such critical Disputations (very necessary to decide the Question before us) I've spent much of my Pains in this Section. But now this Matter being once settled, the genuine Writings vindicated, and the spurious rejected, hereafter there will be but little Occasion to trouble the Reader, as often as we cite those Authors, or their Works, with such Reasonings. In a Word, as I don't see how I could have given full Satisfaction to the studious Reader, if I had been more brief in the explaining and confirming this second Section; so I hope in the following Sections to say what may at least suffice for the impartial Reader. Let us proceed then by God's Grace to what remains. *

Dr.

** Though there are in this Section so many Passages declaring the Nature of the Son of God, (not as Dr. Clarke, &c. will have it, the metaphysical Manner, in which it was derived) not one of them is taken Notice of; but still the Divine Nature, and the metaphysical Manner of deriving it confounded, as though the one could not be known except the other was. It would be easy to turn the greatest Part of the Doctor's Citations against him upon this Head; for if upon his own Scheme he admits the Difficulty to be so great, as Irenæus, Novatian, and Eusebius are brought to tell us, (Scripture-Doctrine, pag. 273, &c.) How much more so is it upon the Scheme of his Adversaries? Indeed, comparatively speaking, I see no Difficulty in his Scheme, which is not as great in considering the manner of any created Nature's Derivation from God. Eusebius's Authority, pag. 275. if this be so, will by no Means answer the end. For he expresses himself to this purpose, that if we can't (and he affirms we can't) show how created Things came into Being, so and much more unsearchable is, &c.*

We have it said, (pag. 272.) That Generation when applied to God is but a figurative Expression, (the Doctor might have said so of all humane Expression in general when so applied), but the Question is not about Derivation or Manner, but of Nature. The Criticism upon St. John is of no Force, except to furnish us with a Reflection upon himself for Inconsistency, and upon the other sacred Penmen. For though he only says in the 1st of John [he was] he hath elsewhere called him the Son of God, the Only-begotten, as well as the other sacred Writers, who have also carried his Account as far back as he. But besides, if the Observation were in Fact true, the Conclusion would not follow. For to say, he was created, or emitted, or begotten, or eman'd, discover to us the manner, no more than to say he was. They are all here figurative Expressions, and can be resolved into nothing else but Being in general. Perhaps, indeed, we may say, that St. John spoke more sublimely of him here than he himself, or the other Holy Writers had done in any other

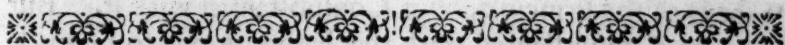
Dr. GRABE's *Annotations concerning St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, and Martyr.*

TO the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers cited by our very learned Author as evidence for the Divinity of our Lord, I have thought fit to add *Peter* Bishop of that Church, the Church of *Alexandria*, from which *Arius* departed. He died a Martyr for the Christian Faith about the Year three hundred and eleven. Out of his Book concerning the Deity, the following Words among others, are alledged in the Council of *Ephesus*. "The Word being made Flesh by the Will of God, and found in Fashion as a Man, was not deserted by the Divinity." And a little after: "Whence the Evangelist says truly, *The Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us*, namely, from the time that the Angel saluted the Virgin, saying, *Hail thou that art highly favoured, God is with thee*. For that, *The Lord is with thee*, is spoken by *Gabriel* instead of, *God the Word is with thee*." And again. "God the Word, in the absence of Man, according to the Will of God, who is able to do all Things, was made Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin, not standing in need of the Presence or Operation of Man." But that *Peter* believed Christ truly and essentially God, the word God being taken in a proper Signification, is plain from his Homily *Of the coming of the Lord*, out of which *Leontius* cites these Words in the first Book against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*: "And he said to *Judas*, *Dost thou betray the Son of Man with a Kiss?* These things, and the like, and all the Signs he did, and the Powers shew that he was God, and was made Man. Both Points then are demonstrated, that he was God by Nature, and that he was Man by Nature".

other place; for not finding how to speak of this unsearchable Mystery in any Word expressive of it, he resolved upon saying [he was], i. e. upon using that Word which imports general Existence, and by which God called himself speaking to Moses [ὁ Θεός]. I can't but observe the Doctor's Omission of *ουων* in translating St. Basil, pag. 345, and there are others of the same kind.

To

To these Testimies of the *Ante-Nicene* Catholic Doctors hitherto cited in Proof of the Son's Consubstantiality might be added the Sayings of some Heretics, namely, of those, who, though they denied the Truth of Christ's humane Nature, granted his Divinity. But because these do not seem to be of so great Moment, and because some of these had only a feigned Christ, or Son of God, and others of them made a fantastical Divinity of the Father and Son, I shall omit it.



S E C T. III.

Of the Co-eternal Existence.

C H A P. I.

The Connection of this and the preceding Section, the first Thesis of the Son's Eternity propounded, &c.



Having establish'd the Doctrine of the Son's Consubstantiality by the Suffrages of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, the Co-eternity of the same Son is a necessary Consequence from it. For he that is truly and properly God, and begotten of the Substance of God, must necessarily have all Things proper to God, must be Infinite, Immense, Eternal, Almighty, Uncreate, Immutable, and have the other Properties, without which there can be no true Divinity. There is scarce a Writer since the Synod of *Nice*, who has not observed this against the *Arians*. But *Cyril* has explained it more largely in his ninth Book of the *Thesaurus*, and shews it to be more especially a Consequence with regard to Eternity. Amongst others to this purpose, these Words are peculiarly plain and express: "And as if he had been added to him, he had not been
" Consub-

“ Consubstantial ; so, since this was not, but he always
 “ was with him, he must be altogether Consubstantial.”
 And a little after : “ For nothing is Co-eternal with the
 “ Father, which is not naturally of him, lest we should
 “ say that was a Property of the Creatures, which only
 “ belongs to the Divine Nature. Therefore, though the
 “ Son hath a Principle his Father, yet forasmuch as he is of
 “ that Principle, and has a Nature concurrent with that
 “ Principle, he cannot be unlike him in Essence. For if
 “ he is of the Principle, he is Consubstantial with it. But
 “ to be Consubstantial with the Father is not to be made
 “ in Time, lest the Father be found to be so likewise.

2. But since some Persons, very fond of themselves, think the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers altogether so dull and stupid, as not to perceive such a plain Consequence, and therefore to have advanced incoherent and inconsistent Opinions in this Article, I suppose it will be worth the while, to lay before the Reader the Opinions of the same Fathers concerning the co-eternal Existence of the Son with the Father, distinctly and separately. Some of these Testimonies I have cited indeed in the former Section, and upon another Account, but the Argument deserves to be handled professedly. Since the antient Doctors of the Church have spoken concerning this Matter, differently in Style, though not in Substance, this third Section cannot be finished in one Thesis, as the foregoing ; but must be explained in more Conclusions, as the Case requires. Let the first Thesis or Conclusion be this :

The greater and better Part of the Ante-Nicene Doctors did plainly, clearly, and perspicuously teach and profess the co-eternal Existence of the Son, with God the Father.

3. Of those Fathers we justly give the Precedence to *Ignatius*, an ample Witness of the Catholic Doctrine in the Churches of the Apostolical Age. In his Epistle to *Poly-carp*, his Holy Brother Bishop he thus speaks : ‘ *Expect*

‘ p. 41. Vol. 2. Sect. 3.

him who is above Time, Eternal, Invisible, though for our sakes Visible, not to be Felt, nor liable to Sufferings, but for our sakes Passible, who suffered every Way for us. He plainly speaks of the Son of God, besides other Attributes, ascribing to him this, that he is above Time, and without Time. For such was the Simplicity of this Apostolical Man, that he is not to be thought quibbling with the word Time, like the crafty Arians. *Is. Vossius* has said enough of the Authority of this Epistle to all impartial Men, in his Notes upon the Title of it. And our learned *Pearson*, in the Preamble to his *Vindicie*, discoursing largely upon it, has so refuted *Usher's* singular Opinion, that no Man can doubt, but that this Epistle is one of the *Eusebian* number. The same *Ignatius* very fully proclaims the Eternity of the Son in his Epistle to the *Magnesiums* thus: ¹ *There is one God, who manifested himself by Jesus Christ, his Son, who is his Eternal Word, not proceeding from Silence* *.

4. I know there are some Persons who from this contend that these Epistles are not *Ignatius's*, because the Words [*not proceeding from Silence*] touch upon that Error, which was properly *Valentinus's*, and was not yet in being whilst *Ignatius* liv'd. The Right Reverend Bishop *Pearson* (after *Usher*, *Vossius*, and *Hammond*, whose Writings had not satisfied *Daille* and others too much carried away by Party) about to answer this Objection at large, proposes ² to demonstrate these four Assertions; (1.) That those Words [*not proceeding from Silence*] strike at the Heresy of the

¹ Vol. 2. p. 19. Sect. 8. * *The Answer to the Queries* says the Words [*λόγος ᾧδιος*] occurring in the following Citation, are with great Reason suspected to be spurious; and also says, that the Writers of the first and second Century expressed the Generation of the Son of God by other Terms—but hardly ventured to say, that he was *ᾧδιος*, absolutely and metaphysically Eternal. Hardly! Not well guarded at all! They did it frequently. The *λόγος ᾧδιος* are not the Words which caused this Epistle, &c. to be suspected, but those other Words, *ἐκ ἀπὸ Σιγῆς προελθὼν*, The interpolated Epistle will do our Author no Service. They both express one Notion; they both express or imply an Eternity, and that strongly. See the place, and the Learned upon it. This Gentleman owns, I suppose, that *ᾧδιος* signifies absolutely and metaphysically Eternal. ² Vide cap. 3 and 4. *Vind. Ignat.* p. 352, &c. In *Patr. Apostol.* Edit. Cotelieriana. Vol. 2.

Ebionites. (2.) That they don't belong to *Valentinus* at all. (3.) That the Heresy, which is thought to be struck at in those Words is older than *Valentinus*, and was received from the Antient *Gnostics*. (4.) That it can't be certainly proved that *Valentinus's* Errors were altogether unknown to *Ignatius*. In handling these Points he so shews his general Learning, and especially his great Skill in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, as to deserve the Honour and Admiration of all Learned and Pious Men; and he says such Things, as are abundantly sufficient to confute all the Cavils of *Blondel* and *Daille*. I'm forced however to dissent from that very Learned Father, whom I greatly honour and esteem, in some Points, and I humbly entreat his Candour and Humanity, whilst I freely propose my Opinion concerning this famous Place in *Ignatius*, especially since the Confirmation of that momentous Truth, I'm explaining, doth very much require it from me. I'm persuaded *Ignatius* had no regard either to the *Valentinians*, or the *Ebionites*, in the Words cited, or in the Paragraph to which they belong; but to those judaizing *Gnostics*, whose Leader *Cerinthus* was (a Man much more antient than *Valentinus*, and even Contemporary with the Apostles, and whose Heresy greatly disturbed the Asiatic Churches in the Times of *Ignatius*). Before I give my Reasons for this Opinion, I'll recite the entire Context of *Ignatius's* Discourse, that the Matter may appear the clearer.

5. Thus the Holy Man speaks to the *Magnesian*s: ¹
 “ Run ye all together, as to one Temple of God, as to
 “ one Altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who proceeded from
 “ the one Father, exists in one, and * is gone [to him].
 “ Be not deceived with false Doctrines, nor old unpro-
 “ fitable Fables. For if we still live according to the
 “ Jewish Law, we confess that we have not received
 “ Grace. For the most Holy Prophets lived according
 “ to Jesus Christ; for which Cause they were persecu-
 “ ted, being inspired by his Grace, to the end, that those,

¹ 1. 19. Sect. 7. Vol. 2. Patr. Apost. * So the Archbishop translates. *Χρησταις*. It will also admit [and comprehends him].

“ who

“ who were disobedient, might have full Proof, that there
 “ is one God, who manifested himself by Jesus Christ,
 “ his Son, who is his eternal Word, not proceeding from
 “ Silence, who in all Things pleased him that sent him.
 “ If then they who lived in these old Things, are come
 “ to the new Hope, no longer Sabbatizing, but keeping
 “ the Lord’s-Day, in which our Life arose by him, and
 “ by his Death, whom some deny, (by which Mystery
 “ we have received Grace to believe, and * by this suffer,
 “ that we may be found the Disciples of Jesus Christ,
 “ our Lord). How then shall we live without him,
 “ whose Disciples the old Prophets were; and by the
 “ Spirit expected him as their Master; and for this Cause,
 “ he, whom they justly waited for, when he came raised
 “ them from the Dead. Let us not then despise his Good-
 “ ness. For if he should deal with us, as we do with
 “ him, we should not now exist. Since therefore we are
 “ his Disciples, let us learn to live according to Christia-
 “ nity. He who is called by any other Name than this,
 “ is not of God. Lay aside then the bad Leven, grown
 “ old, and sow’r, and be ye changed into the new Leven,
 “ which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted with him, that
 “ none of you putrify in your selves; for ye shall be dis-
 “ covered by the Smell. It is absurd to name the Name
 “ of Christ, and Judaize. For Christianity hath not be-
 “ lieved into *Judaism*, but *Judaism* into Christianity,
 “ that all People believing might be gathered to God. I
 “ speak not these Things, my Beloved, because I know
 “ some of you in this Condition, but as one less than you,
 “ I’m desirous to caution you, that ye fall not into the
 “ Snares of vain Opinions, and that ye be fully assured of
 “ the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ our
 “ Hope, accomplish’d by him in the Government of *Pon-*
 “ *tius Pilate*, most truly and certainly, of which God for-
 “ bid that you should be ashamed, or turn away from
 “ them.”

* ὁ ἀπομένον. Archbishop [wait.] † Imitate us in our Deeds,
 μιμήσθαι. V. L. μιμήσθαι Vedelius and Vossius their Conjecture.
 Cod. Nydp. μιμήσθαι. Conjecture from Clem. Alex. μιμήσθαι.

6. Here the Context plainly shews, that the same Heretics are intended from beginning to end. Who were they? Not the *Valentinians* to be sure, as *Blondel* and *Daille* have fancied. For by the Paragraph it is plain, that the Heretics struck at professed *Judaism*, which none of the Antients have told us of the *Valentinians*, nor any of the Moderns, that I know of. But *Ignatius* says of his Heterodox People, *That they lived according to Judaism, that they Sabbatiz'd, professed Jesus Christ, and yet Judaiz'd.* To this Argument brought by Bishop *Pearson*, the Observer neither says, nor even can say any Thing solid. Now as to the *Ebionites*, though they may indeed be censured for Judaizing, yet all besides agrees better with the *Gnostics*, and some Things can't be understood of any other Persons. For, (1.) Those Words in which he exhorts the *Magnesians*, *to come together as into one Jesus Christ, who came from the one, Father, is in the one, and returns to * or comprehends him*, are plainly levelled against the *Gnostics*, and especially the *Cerinthians*. For the *Cerinthians* did not believe in one Jesus Christ, but taught that Jesus was one, and Christ another, who came down from the supreme Power into Jesus after his Baptism, and went again from Jesus, before his Passion, to him who is the Fulness of all Things. Nor did they own one Father of Jesus Christ: But they profest, as I shall shew hereafter from *Irenaeus*, the Creator or Maker of the World to be the Father of Jesus, and an Higher Power the Father of Christ. Then when *Ignatius* says, *That the Prophets of the Old Testament were inspired to persuade Unbelievers, that there is one God, who manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son*; here again the *Gnostics* are manifestly glanc'd at. For they all, and they only taught that there was one God Maker of the World; another, who manifested himself to Men by his Son Christ. Farther, as for the Words [*not proceeding from Silence*], the Occasion of this Disquisition, though I can easily grant that they are added by Way of Explana-

* The *Gnostics* denied that he comprehended the Father, but not that he returned to him.

tion of what was said before about the Eternity of the Word; yet it seems plain to me, that *Ignatius* intended by them to obviate a wrong Notion of some Heretics concerning the Prolation of the Son. But the *Ebionites* had never philosophiz'd upon it: The *Gnostics* indeed commonly, and among them the *Cerinthians* conceived a very absurd Opinion concerning it, for the reproving which these Words, as we shall see hereafter, are very apposite. Nay, I'm fully persuaded, the old *Ebionites* never used the Word λόγος concerning Christ; because they rejected the Gospel of St. *John*, where Christ is so called, and used the Gospel of St. *Matthew*¹ only. Again, when *Ignatius* admonishes, *That Christians should not Sabbatize, but keep the Lord's-Day, in which our Life is risen by him, and by his Death*, and subjoins, *which [Death] some deny*, he clearly signifies, that those Judaizing Heretics, whom he censures, had to their Error of the necessary Observation of the Mosaical Law, joined another worse Error, *i. e.* the Denial of Christ's real Death and Passion. This can't be truly said of the *Ebionites*, but it is very true of the *Cerinthian Gnostics*, as I shall shew hereafter. Lastly, The Conclusion of *Ignatius's* Discourse plainly proves our Opinion: "These Things, says he, my Beloved, I say to you, not that I know any of you in this State; but as one less than you, I would preserve you from falling into the Snares of vain Opinions; take Care that ye be assured of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection, in the time of the Government of *Pontius Pilate*, really and truly accomplish'd by Jesus Christ our Hope, from which, God forbid, that ye should be turned away." From these Words it is clear, that the Heretics, concerning whom *Ignatius* forewarns them in the preceding Words, were not the *Ebionites*, but the *Gnostics*. For he exhorts them, lest they should fall into the Snares of these Heretics, to be fully persuaded of the real Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ in the Times of *Pontius Pilate*, and not suffer themselves to be drawn aside from this Per-

¹ *Iren.* lib. 1. ch. 26. p. 127.

suasion; he gives them this Advice, as a Preservative against their Poison. But the *Ebionites* were not concerned at all, though the *Gnostics*, and chiefly the *Cerinthians*, were deeply sunk into these Opinions. The *Gnostics*, all of them, of what Denomination soever, denied the real Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, though not all, in the same way. This *Irenæus*, 'the most curious Discoverer of the *Gnostic* Doctrines learnedly observes. After he has shewed how St. *John* glances at the *Cerinthians* and *Nicolaitans* in the beginning of the Gospel, he descends to those Words, *Ch. i. v. 14.* demonstrating, that neither the *Cerinthians*, nor any other Sect of the *Gnostics* did sincerely own the Birth, Passion, and Incarnation of Jesus Christ. His Words are these: " According to them
 " neither the Word was made Flesh, nor Christ, nor Sa-
 " viour, which is made up of them all. For they will
 " not allow, that the Word and Christ came into this
 " World; but that our Saviour neither was incarnate,
 " nor suffered, but descended like a Dove upon that Je-
 " sus who was made by the Oeconomy, and when he had
 " declared the unknown Father ascended into the Fulness.
 " Some of them indeed say, that he, who was by the
 " Oeconomy, Jesus, who passed thro' the Virgin *Mary*,
 " as Water through a Tube, was incarnate and suffered.
 " Others say, it was the Son of the Creator, into whom
 " that Jesus, who was by the Oeconomy, descended.
 " Others again, that Jesus was indeed born of *Joseph* and
 " *Mary*, and that Christ, who was from above, without
 " Flesh, and impassible, descended into him. But the
 " Word was not made Flesh, according to any Opinion
 " of these Heretics. For if any one searches all their
 " Rules, he'll find that the Word of God, and Christ,
 " who is from above, is brought in by them all as with-
 " out Flesh, and impassible. For some of them think he
 " was manifested in the Figure of a Man, but neither born,
 " nor incarnate; others think that he never took the
 " Shape of Man, but as a Dove descended into that Jesus,

* Lib. 3. ch. 11. p. 257.

“ who was born of *Mary*. The Disciple of the Lord
 “ therefore proving them all false Witnesses, says, *And the*
 “ *Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us.*” Thus *Ire-*
neus. *Philastrius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Austin* give us this in
 peculiar of the *Cerinthians*; that they taught, *That Jesus*
was not yet risen from the Dead, but would sometime rise;
 I suppose at the beginning of the *Millennium*, which they
 dreamt of. To these add the Words of *Ignatius*, [*Lest*
ye fall into the Snares of Vain-glory], which seem to respect
 the *Gnostics*, the Slaves of Vain-glory, Men that would
 appear wiser than all others for their strange Invention of
 the *Æons*; who despised all others as more rude, and up-
 on this Account called themselves *Gnostics*. Hitherto all is
 clear, I suppose.

7. But what shall we say to the *Judaism*, with which
Ignatius upbraids these Heretics throughout the whole Pa-
 ragraph. Was not this the proper Mark of the *Ebionites*
 and *Nazareans*? Does it agree to the *Gnostics* at all? Yes,
 altogether. For though the *Cerinthian Gnostics*, as it seems,
 made no great Account of the Law, and the *Jewish* Rites,
 and even had a mean Opinion of the Author of it; that
 as long as the Power of the *Jews* stood, and they stirred up
 great Persecutions (that is, till the utter Destruction of the
Jews under *Adrian*, at which time the Remains of them
 by this means, who not without Reason was very invete-
 rate against them, were brought into the greatest Odium
 and Contempt) to avoid the Cross, they Judaiz'd with
 them. *Epiphanius*, ¹ *Philastrius*, ² and *Austin* ³ tell us ex-
 pressly, the *Cerinthians* taught the *Necessury of Circumcision*,
 and keeping the Law. And *Epiphanius* observes, that *Cerin-*
thus, though he revered the Law, did not adore the Angel
 or Law-giver of the *Jews*; nay, was so far from it, as to
 say he was Evil, and to abhor him; but he durst not
 teach and profess this openly, as *Marcion* did afterwards.
 It follows then, that *Cerintus* did not Judaize from his
 Heart; but pretended a Zeal for the Law of *Moses* for his

¹ *Epip.*, *Hæres.* 28.
Hæresib. c. 8.

² *Philastrius* in *Cerintho*.

³ *August.* de

own Advantage, to curry Favour with the *Jews*, and escape Persecution. Hence most of the *Cerinthians* enjoined others Circumcision, but remained uncircumcised themselves. Upon which Account *Ignatius* hints at them¹ in those very remarkable Words to the *Philadelphians*: *If any one teach you Judaism, don't hear him. For it is better to hear Christianity from a Man who is circumcised, than Judaism from one uncircumcised.* From these Words it is plain, that at the time this Epistle was wrote (so that you may know the Antiquity of it to be agreeable to the Age of *Ignatius*) there were some, though uncircumcised, who professed and taught *Judaism*. Of these the Lord himself seems to me to speak, in an Epistle sent by *John*, the Master of *Ignatius*, to the same *Philadelphians*, *Apoc. iii. v. 5.* where mention is made of those, who called themselves *Jews*, and were not so, but ly'd. See also *Apoc. ii. v. 9.* In both places they are said not to be *Jews*, but the Synagogue of *Satan*, namely, because, professing to worship the God of *Israel*, and the Law, being instigated by a Satanical Spirit, they really detested and blasphemed that God. Who were these? The *Ebionites*? No. For the *Ebionites* were all circumcised, and religiously observed all the Law of *Moses*. Therefore *Ignatius* plainly means the *Cerinthian Gnostics* in these Words; of whom also he speaks in the Words preceding. For they are manifestly aimed at in those we meet with in the beginning of the Paragraph;
² *Many Wolves who make a fair Appearance, and captivate those who are coming to God, to wicked Pleasure.* And the great *Dionysius Alexandrinus* says of *Cerinthus*:³ “ That
 “ this was the Doctrine he taught, that the Kingdom of
 “ Christ would be Earthly, and that we should be con-
 “ versant with those Things he desired, being a Lover of
 “ the Body, and wholly Carnal, namely, the Gratificati-
 “ ons of the Belly and the Flesh, Meats and Drinks, and
 “ Marriages, and those other ways, by which he thought
 “ these Things might be more decently obtained, Feasts

¹ Vol. 2. p. 32. Sect. 6.
 Hist. 223.

² p. 31. Sect. 2.

³ Euseb. Eccl.

“ and Sacrifices, and the Slaughter of Holy Things.” The same ¹ *Caius*, a Presbyter, and a famous Man, witnessed long before *Dionysius*, where he speaks thus of *Cerinthus*: “ Pretending wonderful Things discovered to him by Angels, he upon the Strength of them adds, “ that after the Resurrection there will be an earthly “ Kingdom of Christ, and that Men shall again live in “ *Jerusalem* serving their Lust and Pleasures; and being “ an Enemy to the Holy Scriptures, and willing to deceive, he says the Number of the 1000 Years will be a “ Marriage-Feast.” *Cerinthus* by this Bait of his *Epicurean Millennium* (which *Ignatius* justly calls ² *wicked Pleasure*) drew many Disciples to him, or (as *Ignatius* again speaks), *captivated those who were going to God*. I go on with *Ignatius* to the *Philadelphians*: For certainly his following Words, [If any one is of another Opinion, he doth not consent to the Passion], denote not *Ebion*, but *Cerinthus*, who with all the *Gnostics* (as I have observed from *Irenaeus*) denied the real Passion of Christ our Lord.

8. I now come to the chief Point, to shew clearly how those Words of *Ignatius* [*who is his eternal Word, not proceeding from Silence*] glance at the Doctrine of *Cerinthus*. I say then that *Cerinthus* had the same thoughts concerning the Production of the World, as *Valentinus*, and was his Predecessor in the Heresy. This I prove from a very clear Testimony of *Irenaeus*. ³ Being about to shew how the Words of *John* in the beginning of his Gospel destroy the Fictions of the *Gnostics*, especially the *Nicolaitans* and *Cerinthians*, he writes thus: “ *John* the Disciple of our Lord, “ preaching this Faith, and willing by the preaching of “ the Gospel to take away that Error, which was sown “ among Men by *Cerinthus*, and much sooner, by those “ called *Nicolaitans* (a *Seet* of that, which is falsely called “ Wisdom) that he might confound them, that he might “ persuade them that there is one God who made all Things “ by his Word, and not as they say, that the Creator is “ one, and the Father of the Lord another, that there is

¹ p. 80.² P. A. p. 32. §. 3.³ Lib. 3. c. 11. p. 257.

“ one Son of the Creator, another Christ from above,
 “ that he is impassible, that he descended into *Jesus* the
 “ Son of the Creator, and again flew back into his Plero-
 “ ma or Fulness, that the Only-begotten hath a Beginning,
 “ but the Word is the true Son of the Only-begotten; and
 “ that this Creation of ours was not performed by the first
 “ God, but by a certain Power much inferior to him,
 “ and cut off from a Communication with those Things,
 “ which are invisible and ineffable. The Disciple of the
 “ Lord then willing to take in all these Things, and to
 “ establish the Rule of Truth in the Church, that there is
 “ one God Almighty, who by his Word made all Things
 “ visible and invisible, signifying also, that by the Word,
 “ by which God made the World, by the same he gave
 “ Salvation to them that are in the World, thus began
 “ with that Doctrine, which is in the Gospel, *In the be-*
 “ *ginning was the Word.*” Observe here Reader, the Con-
 sent of the *Cerinthians* and *Valentinians*. First the *Cerinthi-*
ans, no less than the *Valentinians*, made many Powers, *many*
invisibles and ineffables, i. e. many *Aeons* between the first
 God, and the Creator of the World; then both of them
 reckoned the Word among their *Aeons*. Again, both of
 them derived the Word not from the first or supreme God
 immediately, but from the *Monogenes*, or *Nu.* Lastly,
 Both of them denied the Eternity of the Word. It is plain
 in the *Valentinians*; and *Irenaeus* expressly witnesseth, that
 the *Cerinthians* attributed a beginning to the *Monogenes*,
 whom they called the Father of the Word.

9. As for the $\Sigma\iota\gamma\eta$, who will not easily, and even with-
 out Evidence, believe that the *Cerinthians* derived their
Monogenes from *Sige*, as the *Valentinians* their *Logos* from
Monogenes? Especially since *Irenaeus* hath expressly said,
 that their *Monogenes* hath a beginning. For hence it fol-
 lows, according to *Cerintus*, that there was another *Aeon*,
 or rather other *Aeons*, before the *Monogenes*. And who
 should those be but *Bythus* and *Sige*? It is certainly plain
 (whatever the Observator upon *Pearson* pretends to the con-
 trary) that the *Monogenes* was therefore so called by all the
Gnostics, who numbered him among their *Aeons*, because
 he

he only was next and immediately begotten of the first Pair of all their *Æons*. And then may this very place of the Author of the Epistle to the *Magesians* (which the Learned have proved from other very strong Arguments to be the very *Ignatius's*) suffice to prove this Point with impartial Judges. For I think, we have clearly enough demonstrated, that by these Words (*who is his eternal Word, not proceeding from Silence*) not the *Valentinians*, but the *Cerinthians* are hinted at. Another then besides *Valentinus*, *Cerinthus* by name, who was also more Antient, taught that the *Logos* proceeded from *Sige*. Besides the *Gnostics*, who placed the *Logos* among their later *Æons*, and denied his Eternity (which *Irenæus* expressly says the *Cerinthians* did) they all are by consequence, and even of Necessity to be accounted, to teach that the Word proceeded from Silence. For what else, I beseech you, was the *Logos* with all the *Gnostics*, but the Vocal Word of God? Now, if the Vocal Word of God did not exist, was not produced of infinite Ages, it must follow that God was silent, or that there was *Σιγή*, or Silence with God for infinite Ages; but that at last the Vocal Word of God broke out, as it were. Now this is what *Ignatius* rejects, whilst he denies that the Word came from Silence. Whosoever will weigh this Argument more closely, will find it irrefragable. Lastly, *Gregory Nazianzen*, 'an Author of the first Credit, expressly witnesseth, that the *Cerinthians* reckoned *Bythus* and *Sige* among their *Æons*: "The time was when we were quiet from
 " Heresies, when the *Simonians*, the *Marcionites*, and the
 " *Valentinians*, the *Basiliadians*, the *Cerdonians*, the *Cerinthi-*
 " *ans*, and the *Carpocratians*, and all their trifling and mon-
 " strous Schemes, which divided the God of the Universe
 " into many Parts, and contended for what they called
 " the Good with the Creator, were swallowed up in their
 " own [*Bythus*] Abyss, and buried in their own [*Σιγή*]
 " Silence, as they deserved." You observe the *Cerinthians* are by Name in the List of those *Gnostics*, who had their *Bythus* and *Σιγή*.

10. I'm ashamed to mention a Cavil, by which the *Observer* upon *Pearson* endeavours to elude this Testimony of *Nazianzen* cited by him. "Every one, say she, sees that *Gregory* only meant this; that the Heresies by him spoken of were at last vanish'd, and gave the Church no disturbance at all, and therefore he writes that they were swallowed up in the Deep, and put to Silence, alluding to the *Profundum* and *Silentium* of *Valentinus*; to whom and his Followers, not to the other Heretics he names, these last Words of *Nazianzen* relate." But it is plainly false that these last Words of *Nazianzen* relate only to the *Valentinians*. For *Nazianzen*, after he hath not only named *Valentinus*, but *Simon*, *Marcion*, *Basilides*, *Cerdon*, *Cerinthus*, and *Carpocrates*, says of all these, that they and all their monstrous Trifles are swallowed up in their own (observe this) *Abyss*, and buried in their own *Silence*; which Allusion would be absurd, and altogether unworthy that very elegant Writer, unless the other Heretics named by him had also had their *Bythus* and *Sige*. Besides, if *Nazianzen* only intended, that the *Heretics* by him named were at last vanish'd, without respect to *Bythus* and *Sige*, of whom they all philosophized, why, I beseech you, did he not speak in like manner of the other Heretics there mentioned by him? Why does he not place them in the same Predicament with *Simon*, *Valentinus*, *Basilides*, *Cerinthus*, &c? These Words now immediately follow in *Nazianzen*: "The evil Spirit of *Montanus*, and the Darknes of *Manes*, the inconsiderate Heat, or the Purity shall I say, of *Novatus*, and the wrong Assertion of the Monarchy in *Sabellius*, are sunk and gone. Why does he not say, are delivered up to *Bythus* and *Sige*?" The Reason is plain. These Heretics named the last, and by themselves, did not reverence *Bythus* and *Sige*, as the others did. Surely *Nazianzen* did not write these Words rashly, and without thought, but attentively, carefully, and with a more than ordinary Exactness, attributing to every Heresy what belonged to it: To *Simon*, *Marcion*, *Valentinus*, *Basilides*,

Cerdon, *Cerinthus* and *Carpocrates*, comprehended in the former Sentence, their *Bythus* and *Sige*, because they all acknowledged them to be the first Pair of all their *Æons*; and of *Montanus* and the rest, reckoned by themselves how accurately he has wrote *Elias Cretensis* will shew you upon the Place: “ *Montanus*, says he, an impious, sacrilegious Fellow, who carried about with him a mad lascivious Wench, rose to that Height of Presumption, as to call her the Holy Ghost, whom this great Man has justly called an evil Spirit, because a wicked and impure Spirit had possess’d her. *Manes* affirmed that Matter, and Darkness were increate and co-eternal with God. * *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, did not admit them to Penance, who had abjured the Faith, nor those who had sinned after Baptism, nor those who had been twice Married; whom the Orthodox Fathers degraded and excommunicated as rejecting Penitence, and teaching that himself was Pure and Guiltless. Of *Sabellius* he speaks in the Oration, about his Doctrine, that he contracted the three Persons into that one of the Father, and did not allow an Unity of the Godhead in three Persons.” Thus *Elias*. As in the latter Sentence *Nazianzen* rightly attributes to *Montanus* his evil Spirit, to *Manes* his Darkness, to *Novatus* his feigned Purity, and lastly, to *Sabellius* his wicked Monarchy; so in the former Sentence he no less appositely assigns to *Marcion*, *Simon*, *Valentinus*, *Cerinthus*, &c. jointly their *Bythus* and *Sige*.

II. But the chief Reason (if I don’t Mistake) why the Observator had a Mind, that these last Words of *Nazianzen* should properly belong to the *Valentinians*, not those other Heretics named with them, contrary to the plain Sense and Meaning of the Author, is, that if these last Words were applied to them all, then to *Marcion* also; but *Marcion*, he thinks, for certain, never dreamt of *Bythus* and *Sige*, nor had any *Æons* at all. This is a mere Presumption in the Observator. † For the same *Nazianzen* not only attributes *Æons* to the *Marcionites*, but al-

* For Novatianus, a common Error in the Antients. † Orat. 44.

so allows them as many as the *Valentinians* had, namely, thirty. For he writes thus: "The *Hebrews* honour seven, from the Law of *Moses*; as the *Pythagoreans* afterwards four, by which they swear also; the *Simonians* eight, and the *Marcionites* thirty, a Number of *Æons* equal to which they invoke and honour." Who doubts but that *Nazianzen* took this from some Writings of *Marcion*, or the *Marcionites*; especially when *Elias Cretensis* and *Nicetas*, who wrote Commentaries upon *Nazianzen*, have said the same Things? But the Observator here, according to his usual Modesty, charges *Nazianzen* with Impudence, and both his Scholiasts with gross Ignorance, for ascribing those Things to the *Marcionites*, which are proper to the *Valentinians*. As though the same Whims could not be held in common by the *Marcionites* and *Valentinians*; or, as though *Nazianzen*, *Elias Cretensis*, and *Nicetas* did not know, that *Valentinus* first publish'd thirty *Æons*, and that *Marcion* foolishly trode in his Steps. Nay, *Elias Cretensis* expressly tells us this, and observes, that *Nazianzen* had acknowledged it. For in his Notes upon the 23d Oration, after he has spoken of the first eight *Æons*, he proceeds thus: "But the *Marcionites*, making ill worse, had in Reverence the Number thirty, because they worshipp'd thirty *Æons*. For these Doctors said, that the Word and the Life had produced ten *Æons* out of those which the *Simonians* had before; and Man and the Church twelve more, which added to the eight above-mentioned, made the Number thirty. It would be superfluous to write their Names, they are so silly and despicable. The like to these the *Valentinians* taught also. And this the great Man has cleared up in his Oration against the *Arians*."

12. For all this the Observator will not yield, nor believe that the *Marcionites* worshipp'd thirty *Æons*. Why, I pray? Because the more antient Heresiologers have said nothing of it. I confess, that *Irenæus* (whom *Tertullian* has imitated, to say nothing of *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, and *Austin*, who were younger than *Nazianzen*) in his first Book, where he professedly enumerates the Tenets of the
antient

antient Heretics, and speaks of *Marcion*, ¹ has said no such Thing of him; and hence the Observator confidently concludes, that the great *Nazianzen* and his Scholiasts are mistaken. But the Observator is mistaken. For *Irenæus* ² in the same Book treating of *Cerinthus*, and the *Nicolaitans*, mentions none of their *Æons*; the same is true also of *Tertullian*. Are we then to collect from hence, that neither the *Cerinthians*, nor *Nicolaitans* acknowledged any *Æons*? This is trifling. Now *Irenæus* by the bye in another place, which we have before cited, expressly testifies the contrary. The Case is this: *Irenæus* in that first Book accurately describes all the Opinions of the *Valentinians* (against whom he chiefly wrote, and who very much interpolated and augmented the Dotage of the more antient *Gnostics*), but where he treats of the other Heretics, generally speaking, he only mentions their distinguishing Tenets. Hence it is that he says nothing of the *Æons* of the *Nicolaitans*, and *Cerinthians* there; who notwithstanding (according to *Irenæus*) taught that the *Logos* was the Son of the *Monogenes*, and that the *Monogenes* himself had a beginning from some other: Namely, because this was an Opinion they had in common with the other *Gnostics*. Yea, this is especially to be observed concerning *Cerinthus*, that *Irenæus* has not in this place taken Notice of that noted Error of his, about observing the *Mosaical Law*, for the same Reason, because others as well as he had fallen into it. Thus it is also, when he comes to *Marcion*, he says nothing of his *Æons*, and only relates his peculiar Opinions. Of these, this was the chief, that the God, preached by the Law and the Prophets, was not only another from the supreme God, and much inferior to him (which all the former *Gnostics* taught) but was also Evil, and the Author of Evil, as *Irenæus* asserts in the same Place. He also says in the end of the same Chapter, that *Marcion alone durst openly curtail the Scriptures, and shamelessly speak against the supreme God.*

¹ Lib. 1. c. 29.

² Cap. 25. p. 126 and 27, p. 128.

13. I must add that *Irenæus* himself doth elsewhere plainly inform us, that *Marcion* was so far of *Valentinus's* Opinion, as to think that the *Logos* was produced from *Bythus* and *Sige*. The Holy and Learned Man thus speaks to the *Gnostics*: * “ A certain Prophet says of him (of the Son of God) Who shall tell his Generation? But ye Theologizing upon the manner of Generation from the Father, and transferring the Prolation or Utterance of a Word made by the Tongue of Men to the Word of God, are justly discovered or convicted by us, as neither knowing things Humane, nor Divine. Being unreasonably puffed up, ye boldly pretend to know the unspeakable Mysteries of God; though even the Lord himself, the Son of God hath granted that the Father alone knows the Day of Judgment, manifestly saying: *Of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man, neither the Son, but the Father only.* If then the Son was not ashamed to refer the Knowledge of that Day to the Father, neither do we blush to reserve to God things more difficult with respect to us. For no one is above his Master. If any one then shall ask us, How is the Son produced by the Father? We answer him, that no Man knows that Production, or Generation, or Nuncupation, or Revelation, or whatever you please to call it, since it is inexplicable; not *Valentinus*, nor *Marcion*, nor *Saturninus*, nor *Basilides*, &c. Since then his Generation is inexplicable, they who attempt to explain the Generations, or Prolations, are besides themselves, promising to explain things inexplicable. For that a Word is produced by Thought and Sense all Men know.” Here *Irenæus* manifestly opposes the Heretics, who presumed to explain the inexplicable Generation of the Word by common Comparisons, saying, that the Word of God was generated of the Father, as the Word of Man was uttered by the Tongue; and that the Divine Word, like the Humane, proceeded from Cogitation and Sense (by which Words it is plain the Interpreter of *Irenæus* was wont to render *ἐρμηνεύειν* or *συνιέναι*)

* Lib. 2. ch. 48. p. 205.

and *v̄v*) of these fooling Heretical *Gnostics*, he reflects upon *Valentinus*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, and *Marcion* too, whom he joins next to *Valentinus*, namely, because he was not only of *Valentinus*'s Opinion about the first Quaternion, (as also *Cerinthus* was, and *Saturninus* and *Basilides*, and other of the *Gnostics* before *Valentinus*) but also did reverence and hold the whole *Pleroma*, or Complement of his thirty *Æons*, as *Gregory Nazianzen* and his Learned Scholiasts expressly say. This at least is clear from this place of *Irenæus*, that *Marcion* thought and taught as *Valentinus* did, that the Word of God was begotten of the Father, as the Word of Man is uttered by the Tongue, and that the Word of God, as the Word of Man, proceeds from Thought and Sense, *i. e.* from *Ennoea*, or *Sige* and *Nu*. If it were not so, no Reason could be thought of, why *Irenæus* in this Censure of such mad Heretics should by name charge *Marcion*, and even immediately join him with *Valentinus*, as I said before. The Case is plain. Moreover *Irenæus* doth in another place clearly enough inform us, that *Marcion* acknowledged *Bythus* and his *Pleroma* to be superior to the Creator.

¹ For in the first Chapter of the second Book (the Argument of which is, that *there is no God of the Universe besides the Pleroma, and that there is nothing besides his Fulness, and that there are not two Gods immensely distant from one another, &c.*) he accommodates those Things to the *Marcionites*, which he had principally wrote against the *Valentinians*.

“ These things, says he, are also in like manner fitted or
 “ apposite against the *Marcionites*. *Marcion*'s two Gods
 “ will be contained and bounded by the immense Interval,
 “ which separates them from one another. Thus there
 “ will be a Necessity of imagining many Gods on every
 “ part immensely distant, beginning from and ending in
 “ one another; and by that Argument, by which they
 “ attempt to teach that there is a *Pleroma* or God above or
 “ Superior to the Maker of Heaven and Earth; by the
 “ same one may affirm, that there is another *Pleroma* above
 “ that, and again another above that, and another Depth

² Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 145.

“ of God below the *Bythus*, and the same of the Sides,
 “ and so on in *infinium*, and there will always be a Ne-
 “ cessity to imagine other *Pleroma's* and other *Bythus'es*, ne-
 “ ver to stop, but always to enquire after others besides
 “ those named.” Thus *Irenaeus*. Now how, I pray you,
 do these Absurdities affect the *Marcionites*; how does this
 Argumentation touch them, unless they, as well as *Valenti-*
nus, thought this *Bythus* and *Pleroma* superior to the Crea-
 tor? Surely it is manifest from this Place of *Irenaeus*, that
Marcion not only acknowledged *Bythus* and his *Pleroma*;
 but also taught that the *Demiurgus*, or he that made the
 World, existed out of this *Pleroma* of *Bythus* very far
 distant, and separate from him; the very Opinions of *Va-*
lentinus. But now that *Irenaeus* manifestly signifies, that
Marcion, as well as *Valentinus*, revered the *Pleroma* of *By-*
thus; who would not readily believe *Nazianzen*, when he
 testifies, that *Marcion*, as well as *Valentinus*, worshipped the
 thirty *Aeons*? *Valentinus* reckoned so many *Aeons* in the
Pleroma of *Bythus*, inclusive of *Bythus*. Lastly, whereas
Valentinus made a certain middle place, or *Vacuum* below the
Pleroma of *Bythus*, from which sprung the *Demiurgus*, who
 is put in the lowest Place; the same *Irenaeus*¹ expressly says,
 that in this also *Marcion* agreed with him: “ Their *Bythus*
 “ therefore, and his *Pleroma* and *Marcion's* God are insta-
 “ ble. For, as they say, he hath something under him,
 “ which they call a Void, and a Shadow; and this Void
 “ is proved to be more unstable than their *Pleroma*. Now
 “ this is as much as to say, that though the *Pleroma* con-
 “ tains within it all Things, the World was made by some
 “ other. For they must confess some shapeless Void, in
 “ which this that is the Universe was made, within the
 “ Spiritual *Pleroma*.” Here it is plain, that the Words
 [as they say] are referred to all those, spoken of before.
 Now the *Valentinians* are not only noted, but *Marcion* is
 censured by Name. *Marcion* therefore said, as the *Valenti-*
nians, that there was a shapeless Void within the Spiritual
Pleroma, in which the Universe was made, and that by a

¹ P. 148, 149. lib. 2. c. 3.

Maker different from the Supreme God. This is the Case. Most of *Marcion's* Tenets (whatsoever some of his Disciples and Followers have determined, who have variously interpolated, and changed some of them, and plainly denied others) were taken from the Reveries of the more Antient *Gnostics*, especially *Valentinus*. This was *Marcion's* own, that he first presumed openly to blaspheme the *Demiurgus*, by saying that he was Evil, and the Author of Evil. In a Word, *Marcion* plainly taught that there were two Gods, namely, *Bythus* the head of the Spiritual *Pleroma*, and *Demiurgus* who existed out of that *Pleroma*; the one he called the Good, the other the evil God. He took the Handle of this impious Doctrine from his Master *Cerdon*, of whom ¹ *Irenæus* writes thus: "He taught that the God preached by the Law and the Prophets was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; for as much as the OWN was known, the other not known, the one was Just, the other Good, *Marcion* of *Pontus* succeeded him, and improved the Doctrine by shameless Blasphemies." *Cerdon* denied the God of the Law and the Prophets to be Good, but he own'd him Just; But *Marcion* stopt not here; he says, that *he was the maker of Evil, a lover of Wars, inconsistent in his Purpose, and contrary to Himself*, as the same *Irenæus* tells us. ² Notwithstanding the Cavil of the Observer then concerning *Marcion*, the Authority of the great *Nazianzen* stands unshaken, who taught that *Cerinthus* and the other *Gnostics* before *Valentinus* worshipped their *Bythus* and *Sige*.

14. Besides, the very learned *Pearson*, ³ by many other clear Testimonies of the Antients has proved, that the *Gnostics* before *Valentinus* owned the *Sige* as one of their *Æons*. No Man of Christian Candour and Sincerity can read the Observer's Answers to them, without Anger and Indignation. We will produce one of those Testimonies, and vindicate it from the Exceptions of that Sophist, before we conclude this Disputation. ⁴ *Eusebius* has a plain Testimo-

¹ Lib. 1. c. 28. p. 128. ² p. 129. ³ Vind. Ignat. p. post. p. 63, 64, 65. ⁴ Eccl. Theolog. lib. 2. c. 9.

ny concerning *Sige*, as acknowledged by *Simon* himself, the Leader of the *Gnostics*: “ What *Marcellus* has presumed to suppose, namely, that formerly there was a God, “ and adds, that *Quiet* was with God, according to that “ Prince of the Atheistical Heresiarchs, who delivering “ his Atheistical Doctrines, says there was God and *Sige*, &c: ‘ The Observator answers, first, *That these words don’t come up to the Purpose, as Pearson thinks; for Eusebius speaks of God, not of Bythus, as Blondel observes. I’m not ignorant that the Valentinians, and perhaps certain other Heretics esteemed their fabulous Bythus as a God, a Divine Person of the better Sex; but I don’t find that they ever honoured him with the Title of God.* Who would not wonder at this Answer? Grant that *Eusebius* speaks of God, not of *Bythus*, does he not expressly speak of *Sige*, of *Sige* as the most nearly allied to God, and co-eternal? Now from other places we most certainly know, and have clearly demonstrated, that the *Gnostics* more Antient than *Valentinus*, and Co-eval with *Ignatius*, numbered the *Logos* among their latter *Aeons*, which is sufficient for our purpose. Neither does the Author of the Epistle to the *Magnesiensians* say any thing expressly of *Bythus*; but only tacitly blames that in the *Heretics* of his Time, that they derived the *Logos* from *Sige*. Now surely, if it is plain, that the *Gnostics*, more Antient than *Valentinus* acknowledged *Sige*, and placed her in the highest Degree, and it is also plain that these *Gnostics* placed the *Logos* in an inferior order of their *Aeons*; who does not see the Weakness of that Argument used by *Blondel* and others, who, from the mention of the *Logos* proceeding from *Sige* by the Author of the Epistle to the *Magnesiensians*, infer that the Epistle does not belong to *Ignatius*; because, forsooth, no one taught the Procession of the *Logos* from *Sige*, till after the Days of *Ignatius*? Again, when the Observator says, that though the *Valentinians* esteemed their fabulous *Bythus* as a God, &c. yet they never honoured him with that Appellation, he stabs himself with his own Sword. For hence it follows, that *Eusebius*

doth not speak of *Valentinus*, which notwithstanding he immediately affirms. If the Observator would rather believe ¹ *Elias Cretenfis*, a very learned Writer, assisted by many Monuments of the Antients, now lost, than his own groundless Divination and Conjecture, he may easily learn from him, that the *Gnostics* in common acknowledged *Bythus* as the supreme Principle of all Things; but then that they did not all honour him with the name of God, and that that was only in frequent use with *Simon* and *Marcion*. Thus *Elias* after he has reckoned up all the *Gnostics* who had Philosophized upon *Bythus* and *Sige*, notes this peculiarly of *Simon* and *Marcion*: *Some of them said that Bythus was a God, and others that Sige was a God also; as Simon and Marcion.* Hence I suppose it came to pass that *Irenæus*, in a Place cited before, speaking of the *Valentinians* and *Marcion* at the same time, has made this cautious Observations: *Their (the Valentinian's) Bythus therefore is unstable, and his Pleroma, and Marcion's God.* But here again the Observator has another poor Refuge. "Besides, says he, let us suppose that God here in *Eusebius* is the same as *Bythus* in *Irenæus*, and the other Writers upon the *Gnostics*, it will not thence follow that the Copulation of *Bythus* and *Sige* was reckoned among their Fictions by the *Gnostics* who were more Antient than *Valentinus*; for that Prince of the impious *Heretics* must be *Valentinus*, who first dreamt of that Copulation of *Bythus* and *Sige*." But (besides, that it hath been sufficiently shewed already that *Valentinus* is not here treated of) if any one doubts who *Eusebius* means by the Prince of the impious *Heretics*, let him here *Eusebius* ² thus explaining himself; *We have heard that Simon first was the Prince of all Heresies.* Nor is this manner of speaking peculiar to *Eusebius*. For [*Prince of the Heretics*] in the Antient Ecclesiastical Authors, as often signifies *Simon Magus*, as [*Prince of the Poets*] in profane Authors denotes *Virgil*. As for the place of *Eusebius*, which is in question, I know not whether any thing can be said more emphatically [*according to that very Prince of*

¹ Comment. in Orat. 23. Greg. Naz. ² Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. c. 13.

the impious *Heresiarchs*] to denote not only some singular Heretic, the most famous of all the impious Herd, but also one who was the Prince and Leader of them all. Now surely that was *Simon*, not *Valentinus*.

15. I've dwelt the longer upon these Things, because I thought it worth while to illustrate this noble place of *Ignatius*; and because it would be especially useful, in refuting the *Arian* Heresy, and confirming the *Nicene* Faith. From hence the *Arians* may learn their Pedegree, their Parents and Progenitors. The impious *Gnostics* first separated the *Logos*, or Word, from the supreme God: The *Arians* do the same. The *Gnostics* first among the Christians denied the Eternity of the Word; for they said that Silence was before the Word, and therefore was, when the Word was not: The *Arians* say the same in that celebrated Axiom of theirs. Ἦν πρὸτε, ὅτε ἔκ ἧν. The Sense of the Apostolical Doctors was contrary to this Dotage, as *Ignatius*, an ample Evidence, informs us. *Ignatius* taught against the *Cerinthians*, (*Ignatius* a Disciple of the Apostles, and made Bishop of *Antioch*, where the Disciples were first called Christians by them), that Christ the Son of God, is the Word of the most high God, not begotten of any inferior *Aeon*; that he was the eternal Word of the very supreme God, not proceeding from Silence; that he is the eternal Word, before whom there never was Silence; that he always was, and is co-eval with God the Father. So also *Irenaeus*, the Hearer and Disciple of *Poly-carp*, Brother in the Lord to *Ignatius*, blames that in *Cerimthus* and the *Nicolaitans*, that they attributed a Beginning to *Monogenes*, whom they called the Father of the *Logos*: Nay, he asserts, that St. *John* professedly opposed this their Heresy in the beginning of his Gospel. The same *Irenaeus* every where lashes the Successors of *Cerimthus* for the same Heresy. I will only cite a more remarkable Passage or two of this kind. The Bishop and Martyr of *Lyons* thus discourses against the *Valentinians* and their Brethren in Opinion concerning the Generation of the Son: “ From him (*Nu* or *Monogenes*) the Makers of this Ple-

“ *roma* say *Logos* and *Zoe* are derived, and understand the
 “ Emission of the Word humanely ; they divine against
 “ God, and seem to find some great Matter in what they
 “ say, that the *Logos* is derived from *Nûs*; the Word from
 “ the Mind ; which indeed all Men know, because it is so
 “ likewise with Men : But there can be no such Emissi-
 “ on or Derivation in him, who is God over all, all
 “ Mind, and all Word, as we said before, who has not
 “ any Thing more antient, or late, not any one Thing
 “ before another in him, but is all equal, alike, and con-
 “ tinues one.” A little after he blames those, “ Who
 “ translate the bringing forth of the Word pronounced by
 “ Man, to the eternal Word of God, and allow a Begin-
 “ ning and Nativity of that *Prolation*, as in the speaking
 “ a Word of their own. And wherein (says he) will
 “ the Word of God, or rather very God, as being the
 “ Word, differ from the Word of Men, if it hath the
 “ same Ordination and Emission in its Nativity ?” You
 observe, Reader, that *Irenæus* expressly teaches, that there
 is nothing before or after in God ; and sharply rebukes
 the *Gnostics* for translating the Utterance of a Word pro-
 nounced by Men to the eternal Word of God, and giving
 it a beginning of Proceſſion, as they do to their own Word.
 We have a parallel place to this, where *Irenæus* thus speaks
 to the *Gnostics* : “ Hence proceeds your Blindness and
 “ Folly, that you reserve nothing to God, but pretend
 “ to declare the Nativities and Proceſſions of God him-
 “ ſelf, his Understanding, Word, Life and Chriſt, and
 “ that taking them from nothing eſſe but the Properties
 “ of Men ; and ye underſtand not that in Man indeed,
 “ who is a compound Animal, you may ſpeak (as I ſaid
 “ before) of the Senſe of the Man, and his Underſtand-
 “ ing ; and that the Underſtanding comes from Senſe, and
 “ the Meditation from the Underſtanding, and the Word
 “ from Meditation, (But what Word ? For the *Logos*,
 “ which is principal, and thinks, is with the *Greeks* one
 “ Thing, and the Organ through which it is emitted

^a Lib. 2. c. 47. p. 203, 204.

“ another), and that he sometimes is quiet and holds his Peace,
 “ sometimes speaks and acts. But God, who is all Mind,
 “ all Reason, all active Spirit, all Light, who is always the
 “ same and alike existing (as it is fit we should think of
 “ God, and as we learn from the Scriptures) it is not pro-
 “ bable he should be thus affected or divided. For even in
 “ Man the Tongue is not able to serve the Quickness of the
 “ Sense, because of its Spirituality, whence our Reason is
 “ kept, as it were, suffocated within, and not brought forth
 “ at once, as it is conceived by the Sense, but by Parts, and
 “ as the Tongue can be subservient to the doing it.” In
 these Words *Irenaeus* blaming the Dreams of the *Gnostics*
 concerning the Generation of the Son, observes two Dif-
 ferences between the bringing forth the Divine Word, and
 the Humane. (1.) Silence goes before the Humane Word,
i. e. a Man is first silent, and then speaks. Nor does his
 Word co-exist with his internal Conception. But we
 must philosophize much otherwise concerning God, who
 is pure Mind, always the same, and alike existing, who
 hath neither Parts nor Passions; therefore is not first silent,
 then speaks; but his Word is co-eternal with him. This
 was *Ignatius's* Mind, when glancing at the *Cerinthian Gno-*
stics, he says of Christ, [*Who is his eternal Word, not pro-*
ceeding from Silence]. (2.) Then the Humane Word is
 not pronounced at one and the same time, but imperfectly,
 and by Parts: But nothing but the perfect Word proceeds
 from the perfect God, and that, if I may so speak, in the
 one Moment of Eternity.

16. This infamous Original of the *Arian* Heresy the
 great *Athanasius* * understood, and upbraided the *Arians*
 with it. Thus in the 3d Oration against the *Arians* he
 blames them as *Imitators of Valentinus*. And a little after,
 because they separated the Son from the Father, and did
 not say that he was the Word of his Father, but a Crea-
 ture rather, he curses them thus: *The Impiety of Valenti-*
nus be with you to Perdition. * Now what he calls the *Im-*
piety

* Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 613, 614. Vide etiam p. 461, 489. * And,
 “ They should be ashamed to tread in the Steps, and speak the Language of
 “ Valentinus

piety of *Valentinus*, we have clearly demonstrated to have been common to him, and the *Gnostics* before him, even those who were co-eval with the Apostles. The Question then, whether we are to hold the Faith of the *Nicene* Fathers, or that of *Arius*, will come to this ; whether we are to prefer the Doctrine of the Apostles before the Fictions of those impious *Gnostics*, who disturbed the Apostolical Churches. I suppose no Christian will deliberate upon this. In short, from what has been said, it is manifest, that the Question concerning the Divinity and Eternity of the Word, disputed between the *Nicene* Fathers and *Arius*, was controverted in the Primitive Apostolical Church between those wicked Mortals the *Gnostics*, and the Catholics, who constantly adhered to the Apostolical Doctrine ; those defending the Cause of *Arius* (to the immortal Honour of that Heretic), these strenuously maintaining the *Nicene* Faith. Let the *Arians* then follow their Leaders at their own Peril, whilst we content our selves with the Apostolic Faith.

“ *Valentinus and Carpocrates and other Heretics. Some of whom have affirmed Angels to be of the same Nature with Christ; and Carpocrates in particular says they are the Makers of the World.*” *Grabe from Athan. Orat. 2. contra. Arian. Tom. 1. p. 179. Ed. Commel.*

C H A P. II.

The Doctrine of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Clemens of Alexandria, concerning the Co-Eternity of the Son.

JUSTIN comes next after *Ignatius*. The Jesuit *Petavius* either did not, or could not produce one Passage from him against the Son's Co-eternity. Now we will bring some Testimonies out of him, which plainly confirm the Co-eternal Existence of the Word, or Son of God with his Father. Of this kind is that famous one
in

in the Apology commonly called the first, in which *Justin* thus Discourses of God the Father and the Son : " We must not give the Father of all Things a Name, because he is unbegotten ; for whosoever is called by a Name, hath some one older, who gives that Name. Now the Words, Father, God, Creator, Lord, and Master are not Names, but Appellations from his Beneficence and his Works. Now his Son, who alone is properly called Son, the Word, which was with him, and begotten before the Creatures, when in the beginning he made and disposed all Things by him, is called *Christ* ; because anointed, and because God created all Things by him : * An Appellation that contains in it an unknown Signification ; as the Appellation [*God*] is not a Name, but an Idea of an inexplicable Thing, implanted in Humane Nature : But *Jesus* hath in it the Notion of a Man and a Saviour." *Justin* teaches in these Words, that there is properly no Name to God the Father, and the Son ; but that we give them certain Appellations from their Beneficence and their Works. Now he gives this Reason for this Assertion, because God the Father is Unbegotten and Eternal, and the Son co-exists with him as his Word, and therefore both have no one older than themselves to give them Names. Nay, *Justin* attributes the Name *Christ*, to the Divinity, as though the Word, and Son of God co-existing with God the Father, and eternally born of him, being the eternal Splendour of the eternal Light, had then obtained that Name, when God the Father created and disposed all Things by him. I dare not indeed answer for *Justin's* Etymology of the name *Christ* ; but I cite these Words to shew his Opinion of the Divine, Eternal, ineffable Nature of *Christ*. Notwithstanding there are other Antients who have re-

* Justin. p. 44. * Dr. Whitby not content to drop this part of *Justin's* Words, has misinterpreted the former part, and suggested to his Reader that *Christ* is opposed to God, the one having a Name, the other only an Appellation ; whereas the Opposition is plainly made between the Divine and Humane Nature of *Christ*.

ferred the name *Christ*, to the Divine Nature of our Lord.¹

2. These Words of *Justin* cited from the Apology to the Emperor will be much illustrated, when compared with a place in his Exhortation to the *Gentiles*, where intending to shew that his Friend *Plato* had been obliged to *Moses* for his $\tau\acute{o} \delta\upsilon$, he thus discourses :² “ Having heard “ in *Egypt* that God said to *Moses*, *I am he that is*, when “ he was about to send him to the *Hebrews*, he knew “ that God did not tell him his proper Name. For it is “ not possible that he should have one : For Names are “ given for the Manifestation and Distinction of the “ Things, to which they are given, being many and diverse. But no Name was ever given to God by any “ one pre-existent to him : Nor has he thought fit to “ Name himself, being one and alone, as he witnesseth by “ the Prophets, saying ; *I am God the first and the last*, “ and besides me there is no other. For this Reason therefore (as I said before) God when he sent *Moses* to the “ *Hebrews* mentioned no Name, but by a certain Participle mystically teaches, that he is the one only God, *I*, “ says he, *am he that is*, ($\acute{o} \acute{\omega}\nu$).” What the Import of the Participle is, by which God, who had no proper Name, signified himself to *Moses*, *Justin* some time after plainly declares. For after he had said that the [$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$] of *Moses* was the same as *Plato*’s [$\tau\acute{o} \delta\upsilon$], he adds,³ *Both of the Expressions seem proper to God, for he only is he that is, or the existent Being*. But that the Son of God was he that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush, and said, *I am the existent Being*, *Justin* in his Dialogue with *Trypho* eagerly contends.⁴ The Case is this. That Description of God in *Moses* [*I am*] equally agrees to God the Father and the Son as to one God, always saving the Distinction of Persons. Which is excellently explained by *Justin* in the place first cited out of the Apology, after this manner : God the Father is [$\acute{o} \acute{\omega}\nu$], the Existent, as always existing of himself ; God the Son is [$\acute{o} \acute{\omega}\nu$], the Existent, as exist-

¹ Caius in Photio, Cod. 48. & Gregory Naz. Orat. 36. ² p. 19. ³ p. 29. ⁴ p. 282. Vide p. 95, 96.

ing with the Father, and eternally begotten of him. Now the Son of God is elsewhere said plainly to be always existent, namely, near the end of the Epistle to *Diognetus*; where the Christian Philosopher thus speaks of God the Son, sent into the World by God the Father: "Those who were accounted Faithful by him have known the Mysteries of the Father, for what Cause he sent the Son to appear to the World, who being disgraced by the People, and preached by the Apostles, was believed by the *Gentiles*. He who was from the beginning, but hath lately appeared, * * * * and always begotten anew in the Minds of the Saints. He who was always, but to Day is reckoned a Son." Of this place, if I mistake not, this is the genuine Sense: The Son of God hath certain new, and as it were, late Nativities (as when he was born to the World, when he came forth from the Father, for the Creation of all Things; again, when he was born in a wonderful manner, and descending into the Womb of the most blessed Virgin, was, as *Irenaeus* speaks, united to her Substance, and born of her; lastly, as when he is daily born in the Hearts of the pious, who embrace him by Faith and Charity), but yet he never was new, or of late Date; but the Son of God the Father always, and existed from Eternity. Another place of *Justin* must by all means be compared with this: It is in the Dialogue with *Trypho*, where upon those Words of God the Father by *David*: *Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee*; he makes this Note, ² saying, *That his Generation was then to Man, when the Knowledge of him was about to be discovered*. You will observe with me, that, in the first Words of the place cited from the Epistle to *Diognetus*, *Justin* manifestly alludes to the famous place of *St. Paul* to ³ *Timothy*; and with the modern Catholics interprets it of the Son of God incarnate. Compare the place of *Hermas* cited, *Seet.* 2. ch. 2. n. 3.

3. But it is now time to wipe off the Aspersions thrown upon this learned Author and Holy Martyr by

¹ p. 501.

² p. 316.

³ 1 Ep. Tim. ch. i. v. ult.

Sandius. ¹ He says *Justin* taught, *That there was a time, when that, which was begotten, was not* (than which what, says he, can come nearer that common saying of the Arians, *There was a time, when the Son was not?*) And in another place, that [*begotten*] and [*made*] don't differ in Reality, but in Sound only; for every Thing that is begotten, is made; and so on the other hand. From this and many other Tokens, it appears, that *Sandius* hath cited the Testimonies of the Antients, either with no Judgment, or no Conscience. For first, he hath cited the latter Saying out of the *Questions and Answers to the Gentiles*, ² a Work which (as *Sandius* ³ himself tells us) is by the Consent of all learned Men said to be none of *Justin's*. The former is only found in the Confutation of the Opinions of *Aristotle*, ⁴ a Book rejected also as spurious by most. Consult ⁵ *Rivet*. But then, what is the best, is, that neither of these places answers *Sandius's* end. For in both the places, the Author, whoever he was, does not speak of the Son of God, but disputes against the Philosophers, who asserted the Eternity of the World. Against them he uses this Argument: *The World is* * *created and made, therefore there was a time when it was not*. Surely those Things are quite beside the Question.

4. We now come to *Irenæus*. We have heard indeed a little before, ⁶ that he, as well as *Ignatius*, opposed the *Gnostics*, who denied the Eternity of the World. To the Testimonies there alledged, these plain ones may be added. In the third Book, *Chap. 20.* he thus writes concerning the eternal Existence of the Son: ⁷ "All the Contradiction of those that say, if he was then born, he was not before, is excluded. For we have shewn, that he did not then begin to be, but always existed with the Father; but when he was incarnate, and made Man, he took upon himself our miserably forlorn Condition—compendiously procuring Salvation for us." We have

¹ *Sandius* Hist. Enucleat. lib. 1. Secul. 2. p. 77. ² p. 189. ³ p. 44. 45. De Veteribus Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. ⁴ p. 230. ch. 20. ⁵ Critic. Sacr. lib. 2. c. 5. * Γεννητὸς καὶ δημιουργητὸς ⁶ This Section, ch. 1. n. 15. ⁷ p. 282.

a place parallel to this in the second Book, *Chap. 35.* in the end: ¹ "The Son being always co-existent with the Father, now and from the beginning reveals the Father." But he very plainly declares the Son's Eternity, where he repels the proud arrogant Profession of Knowledge among the *Gnostics*, by a Comparison between Man, and the Word, or Son of God. We have cited the entire place before upon another Account, ² and therefore shall only recite such part of it now, as is to our present purpose: "Thou art not unmade, O Man, nor didst always exist with God, as his own Word: But thro' his extraordinary Goodness, being now brought into Being, by Degrees learnest from the Word the Dispositions of God, who made thee." This was the constant Doctrine of *Irenæus*. I dare undertake for it, if you turn over all his Books, you'll not find one tittle opposite to the Co-eternity of the Son; so that I can't enough wonder at the Confidence of *Sandius* and others, who have not been ashamed to rank *Irenæus* with the Arianizing Fathers.

5. *Clement of Alexandria* is next to be mentioned, who also very often and plainly preaches up the Eternity of the Son. Thus in the *Exhortatory to the Gentiles*. ³ *This Jesus is Eternal, the one great Holy Priest of the one God, who is also his Father, &c.* In the end of the *Padagogus*, a place

¹ p. 214. ² Sect. 2. ch. 5. n. 5. Dr. Whitby says the Bishop has not dealt fairly with his Reader in pretending this to be a Comparison between the Word and the Creatures, whereas it is only a Comparison between the Knowledge of the Creator and the Creatures. It is very true the Title of the Chapter is, [What Things can be solved by us, and what must be left to God the Creator], the main of the Chapter also is, as the Doctor represents, but then, this is nothing to the purpose; for the Words cited by the Bishop are an incidental Comparison betwixt the Word and Man, in which the one is said to be *infectus unmade*, and the other to be *initium facturæ accipiens*, a Being who had a beginning. This Comparison also is given as a Reason why we should not assume to be as wise as God our Creator, and the Word of God is therein used convertibly with God and the Creator. I join with the Doctor in desiring the Reader to judge between him and the very honest and accurate Prelate, by looking at the place in the Original. ³ p. 55. in fine. *and 105.*

I have cited entirely before, ¹ he says, *The Father and the Son are one God, by whom is Eternity*; which would not be right, unless the Son, as well as the Father, was Eternal. After the *Padagogus*, is St. Clement's Hymn to Christ, which though omitted in some Copies, is found in most, and was certainly added by Clement himself, as is very manifest from the last Words of the *Padagogus*. In that Hymn, besides other Attributes of Christ's, he is greatly celebrated for his Eternity in these Words: *Eternal Word, infinite Age or Aeon*, ² *eternal Light*. This Hymn seems to me to be taken by Clement, out of the sacred Songs used in the Primitive Church, or at least composed in Imitation of them. Concerning these Songs *Caius* ³ has a remarkable Passage, where among other Things he answers thus to *Artemon*, impudently objecting, that the Doctrine of the Son's Eternity was not received in the Church till *Victor's* time: *The Psalms and Songs, all that were wrote by the faithful Brethren from the beginning, celebrate Christ the Son of God, calling him God*. Of the same Hymns *Pliny* thus speaks from the Confession of the Christians: ⁴ "They affirmed this was the Sum of their Crime or Error, that they were wont to meet upon a certain Day, before it was Light, and alternately sing an Hymn to Christ, as God." Yea, in the very Times of the Apostles, the Eternal and Divine Majesty of the Son was celebrated by the Faithful in the publick Liturgy; as (God be praised) it is now, and (I surely Prophecy) shall be to the end of the World, maugre the *Arians*, the *Socinians*, and all the other Assertors of the Apostacy, which denies God, as *Caius* speaks. But to return to *Clement*.

6. He has a famous place concerning the Infinity and Eternity of the Son in the 4th Book of the *Stromata*:
 " ' He is not to be conceived in the Notion of every one
 " of his Powers. The Son is not truly one, as one;
 " nor many, as Parts; but he is one all, whence are all
 " Things. He is the Circle of all Powers wrapt up and

¹ Sect. 2. ch. 6. n. 4.
 ch. 28. p. 159.

² *Αἰδιον*.

³ Ep. 97. lib. 10.

⁴ Euseb. E. H. lib. 5.

⁵ p. 391.

“ united in one. For this Reason the Word is called
 “ *Alpha and Omega*, of whom alone the beginning is the
 “ end, and who ends again in the beginning from above,
 “ having no Separation or Distance.” In which Words,
 though some Things are obscure, there is this plain Sense :
 In the Existence of the Son, there is no Distance ; there
 was no time, when he was not ; there will not be any
 time, when he will not be ; but he is like a Circle infi-
 nite, without beginning and end. But the same *Clement*
 very clearly confesses the eternal Existence of the Son,
Strom. 7. ¹ For not far from the beginning of that Book
 he expressly calls the Son of God, *Eternal and without be-
 ginning, the beginning and first Fruit of all Things.* Two
 Pages ² after this he therefore proves, that Christ the Lord
 is the common Saviour of all Men, because neither Impo-
 tence nor Envy could hinder him from procuring the
 Salvation of Mankind ; not Impotence, because no Body
 can hinder him but the Father, whose Power and Will is
 one with his ; not Envy, because he who is Impassible
 and Eternal is not capable of it. The Words are these :
 “ Neither could he be hindered by another, who is Lord
 “ of all, and especially administers to the Will of the Gra-
 “ cious and Almighty Father ; nor can Envy affect him,
 “ who was Eternally impassible.” These Things *Clement*
 constantly taught, nor is any Thing to be found in his
 genuine Writings inconsistent with them.

7. Now when I look back upon the four Witnesses
 cited by me in this, and the preceding Chapter, namely,
Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus and Clement ; and consider with

¹ p. 503. prope finem. ἀναρχον. ² p. 505. ἀναρχος ἀπαρχὴς
 γενόμενος. These Passages I have noted for the sake of the Answerer of
 the *Queries*, who says that the Orthodox after the Council of Nice
 would not say it [the Word] was ἀναρχος or ἀγεννήτως Eternal. That
 Author either must refer these Words to Duration, not Principle, or else
 they are very impertinent. And if so, how the 49 Apost. Can. will be
 for his purpose, the Commentator Zonarus, as cited by him, and the
 Canon at large will shew every intelligent Reader. The Translation of
 Zonarus would lead a Person to think, that the Father only is to be
 worshipp'd, but the place ought to be render'd, That the Father alone is
 to be worshipp'd as unoriginate.

my self, how great Men they were, I seem to have sufficiently confirmed the Eternity of the Son by the Authority of the Antients; though I could not produce any Thing out of the other Fathers to prove my *Thesis*. For *Ignatius* was a Hearer of the Apostles themselves, especially of St. *John*, who by the Divine Counsel seems to have been preserved alive, after the other Apostles, to defend the Divinity of Christ against the growing Heresies. *Justin* was crowned with Martyrdom some Years before St. *Polycarp's* Consummation, whence in his Epistle to *Diognetus*, he calls himself, as we have observed before, ¹ a Disciple of the Apostles, (namely, those of the lower Order, the Doctors placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves), *Irenaeus* professes himself a Hearer of *Polycarp*, who had his Divinity from St. *John*. Lastly, *Clement* of *Alexandria* boasted of his celebrated Master *Pantenus*, Apostle of the *Indians* after *Bartholomew*, who is said, by some of the Antients, to have been a Disciple of the Apostles, but who, without doubt, conversed with the Apostolical Doctors. But, God be praised, we are not so straightened. We have yet a Cloud of Witnesses, Catholic Doctors and *Ante-Nicene*, who have delivered down the same Doctrine concerning the Son's Eternity. Their Evidence we will cite in Order hereafter.

Dr. GRABE's Annotations concerning Justin Martyr.

THE Learned Author hath in the first place produced the Words of *Justin* for the Eternity of the Son with the Father, and among others these, [ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἔ. λ.] which should be thus rendered, *The Word, which was with the Father before all Creatures, and begotten, when* (reading *quando*, not *quoniam*, as it is in all Editions, the late *Oxford* one not excepted) *in the beginning he created all Things, and disposed them*. It is to be noted, that the reading is ὅτι, not ὅν, and that the Mem-

¹ Sect. 1. ch. 2. n. 8,

ber ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λ. is to be construed, with the preceding γενόμενος, not the subsequent Χριστὸς μὲν λέγεται. Otherwise the Martyr would scarce avoid a Tautology, when to explain the Etymology of Christ's Name; he immediately adds, that he was so called κατὰ τὸ καλεῖσθαι καὶ κοσμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰλ. I have formerly noted upon that place, that *Justin* hath expressed two Notions in the two Words, and the repeated Particle καὶ συνῶν καὶ γενόμενος: In the former, the eternal Existence in and with the Father; in the latter, the Generation or Procession from the Father before the Creation, and in Order to it: Of which see our excellent Author about the end of *Seet. 2.* of this Chapter. Parallel to these are those Words of *Theophilus Antiochenus*,¹ and very fit to explain them; where he calls the Son of God, *The Word, who is always in the Mind of God*; and a little after he adds, *But when God had a Mind to make those Things which he had consulted about, he begat and brought forth this Word, the First-born of every Creature.* From what has been said we may explain, what we read concerning Christ in the Dialogue of *Justin Martyr* with *Trypho*,² where *Trypho* speaking in *Justin's* Sense, says, *He pre-existed being God before Ages.* And *Justin* himself says,³ *Who was God before the Creation of the World.* In like manner:⁴ “ This Birth, which really proceeded from the
 “ Father, before the Creation, and the Father conversed
 “ with him, as the Word hath told us by *Solomon*, that
 “ in the beginning before all his Works, this same Son
 “ was begotten by the Father.” The Words above-cited out of the first *Apology*, and some a little before in this *Dialogue* persuade us to read ἀρχὴν for ἀρχὴ: ⁵ *God hath begotten a certain rational Power of himself, in the beginning before all his Works.* That rational Power was from all Eternity in the Father, but in the beginning of the Creation of all Things proceeded from him, and was manifested out of him. As *Tatian*⁶ the Disciple of *Justin* saith, *He was with him by a rational Power, and the Word which was in*

¹ Justin Martyr. Append. 100. ² p. 267. ³ p. 276. ⁴ p. 285.
⁵ p. 284. A. ⁶ Append. Justin Martyr. p. 145.

him, subsisted; and when it pleased his Simplicity, the Word proceeded from him. For so I rather choose to render it than, *The Word proceeded from his Simplicity, when he pleased.*

OF IRENÆUS.

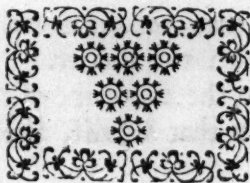
TO the Testimonies cited by the Reverend Author, for the Co-eternity of the Son, from *Irenæus*, I add what the same Person says, asserting the Eternity of the Holy Spirit also. ¹ “His Word and Wisdom, Son and Spirit are always with him (God the Father) by whom, and in whom he freely, and of his own accord made all Things, and to whom he speaks, saying, *Let us make Man after our Image and Similitude.*” And a little after, “We have demonstrated by many Arguments, that the Word, *i. e.* the Son is always with the Father. That the Wisdom also, *i. e.* the Spirit was also with God before all Creation, he says by *Solomon*, God founded the Earth in Wisdom.” You’ll say *Irenæus* ² himself explains [*always*] by [*before all Creation*] or [*before the Creation of Things*], not from Eternity; and that the same is plain from the Demonstration he cites. For there he has respect to *Book 3. Chap. 11 and 18.* as we may gather from a parallel place, which begins thus, *Book 3. Chap. 20.* “Having manifestly shewn, that the Word, which existed with God in the beginning, by whom all Things were made, and who was always with Mankind, was in the last Times, according to the time pre-determined of God, united to his Body, and made a passible Man; all the Contradiction of those is excluded, who say, if then he was born, he was not before. For we have shewn, that he did not then begin to be, but always existed with the Father.” But nothing more can be deduced from the Doctrine of the preceding Chapters 18 and 11. than that Christ, the Word, and Only-

¹ Lib. 4. c. 37. p. 369.
292.

² Ibid. p. 370.

³ p. 254, 275.

begotten Son of God existed before his Incarnation, and even the Creation of the World : Which though the *Ebionites* in the Times of *Irenaus*, and the present *Socinians* deny, the *Arians* did not, but only his eternal Co-existence with the eternal Father. I answer, that *Irenaus*, whilst he discourses of Christ's Existence before his Mother the Virgin *Mary*, and even the Creation, in the said places, supposes his Eternity, and indeed has declared himself plainly enough, when he says in these very places, that *He was always present, and existent with God his Father* ; which would be false, if the *Arian* Assertion was true, that there was a time, when God the Father existed without the Word, or Son of God. And as from the Words of *Irenaus* lately alledged, namely, *That Christ was always with Mankind*, you may rightly conclude, that Mankind never was, when Christ was not ; so from those other Words, wherein he again and again teaches, that the Word was always present and existent with the Father ; you may justly conclude, that God never was, when the Word was not, and therefore that he is Eternal and without beginning. This also *Irenaus* very clearly teaches, whilst he rebukes the *Valentinians*, for translating the Pronunciation of the Word of Man to the eternal Word of God, allowing him only such a Procession and Nativity, as their own Word, which hath a beginning. This he contends is absurd, if the Word be God. If then he had attributed to the Word a beginning of Existence, or had denied his Eternity, the Charge would have fallen back upon himself, a Reflection we should not make upon the Holy Doctor.





C H A P. III.

Very clear Testimonies of the Co-eternity of the Son, from Origen.

ORIGEN follows *Clement of Alexandria*, the Scholar his Master, who though almost only accused of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers of the contrary Error by *Jerome*, &c. doth very clearly and in many places assert the Son's Eternity. Thus ¹ he calls the Wisdom of God, (by which he manifestly denotes the Son), *The Splendour of the eternal Light*. Now it is necessary that the Splendour of the eternal Light be eternal; and it is manifest from his other Writings, that *Origen* meant so by this Similitude. That is a remarkable place, which *Athanasius* cites from him. ² "If he is the Image of the invisible God, the Image is invisible; and I dare add, if he is the Likeness of the Father, no time ever was, when he was not. For when was God, who by St. *John* is called Light, without the Splendour of his own Glory, that any one should presume to assign a beginning to the Son, before which he was not? When was it, that the Image of the Father's Person not to be named, expressed or declared, the Word [*his*] Impress, he that knows the Father, was not? Let him who dares speak thus, There was a time, when he was not, consider what he says, namely, that there was a time, when Wisdom, and Reason, and Life was not." Parallel to this, *Athanasius* here adds another place of *Origen*: "But it is not right or safe by our Infirmary, our Inability to apprehend it, to deprive (as much as in us lies) God of his only-begotten Word always existent with him, of his existing Wisdom, in which he rejoiced. For then we must think, that he doth not always rejoice."

¹ Origen contra Cel. lib. 5. p. 238. ² Tom. 1. Vol. 1. p. 233.

2. But what says *Petavius*, that unjust Judge and Accuser of *Origen* to these express places? "These Things," says he, "are wonderful indeed; and if any other than *Athanasius* had vouched that *Origen* wrote so, there had been a plausible Suspicion that the Catholics had interpolated his Books." Then he adds a Reason for this wonderful Saying of his own. "For he uses the very Words, with which the antient Fathers were wont to confute that impious Tenet of *Arius*, There was a time when he was not." But this is a Reason of little Weight, and not worthy a Man so well read in antient Monuments, as *Petavius*. For I have before proved, that the Blasphemy of *Arius*, in which he said, there was a time when the Word or Son of God was not, came first from the *Gnostics*, who troubled even the Apostolical Church with it, and whose Off-spring remained to the Days of *Origen*, and long after. Farther, since the Heresy of *Noetus* (afterwards of *Sabellius*) began to exert it self greatly in *Origen's* time, it is very likely that many then, not understanding how to avoid the extremes, whilst they endeavoured to flee from one, fell into another; and lest they should be compelled to own the Son to be the same Person with the Father (as those Heretics held) willingly embraced the opposite Heresy, so distinguishing the Son from the Father, as to say, that he was different from the Father's Substance, and a mere Creature, who some time or other had the beginning of his Existence out of nothing, from God the Father. Hence the other Catholic Fathers, who were *Origen's* Contemporaries, repeating the *Arian* Axiom in Terms, refuted it with the Arguments used by *Origen*. I name *Dionysius Romanus* and *Alexandrinus*, whose Testimonies I shall cite in their proper places. Lastly, *Tertullian*, who was older than *Origen*, if you mind the Words only, said the same as *Arius*, namely, *That there was a time when the Son was not*. Which place we will consider hereafter. In the mean time I return to *Origen*, who in many other places plainly professes his Faith in

¹ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. §. 6.

the co-eternal Existence of the Father with the Son. It may be sufficient to add to the former a remarkable Testimony of his concerning the same Thing; explaining the Words of the second *Psalms*, *Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee*, he discourses thus: ¹ "It is said to him by God, with whom all time is to Day. For he, I suppose, hath neither Evening nor Morning; but time, (as I may so speak), co-extending it self with his unbegotten and eternal Life, to Day is to him the Day in which the Son was begotten; so that we can find no beginning of his Generation, nor of the Day." He who would have more from *Origen* concerning the Son's Eternity, may meet with it in the Apology of *Pamphilus* for him. I will only add one observable Thing by way of Conclusion; that *Socrates*, a very honest Man, and well versed in *Origen's* Writings, plainly testifies, that this voluminous Writer constantly asserted the Co-eternity of the Son in his Works. ² For after he had said, that he wonder'd how *Timothy*, a great Admirer of *Origen*, could persist in the *Arian* Heresy, he gives this Reason for it: *Origen every where confesses the Son to be Co-eternal with the Father.*

3. But *Petavius* endeavours to weaken these strong Testimonies of *Origen* for the Eternity of the Son, thus: ³ "These things are of Force against the *Arians*, and the *Sacrilegious formula* of *Arius*, in which he said, there was a time when the Son was not; but they do not amount to an Affirmation of the Consubstantiality. For *Origen* thought the Creatures to have been Eternally with God; because otherwise the Father could not have Eternally been the Creator, nor the Almighty, that is, the Possessor of all Things; but that Attribute would have fallen to him in time; which Thing we find signified by *Origen* even to this Day in his first Book *περὶ ἀρχῶν*." I could plead in excuse for him, that the Text in that place is depraved, or that *Origen* only reported the Senti-

¹ Tom. 1. in Joannem. Ed. Huet. F. 31.
280.

² De Trin. lib. 1. c. 4. §. 7.

³ Lib. 7. c. 6. p.

ment of others, or proposed his bare Conjecture (as his Custom is) not asserting it as a Doctrine; which latter any one would readily believe to be the Case, by examining the entire Context of the Discourse. I could also cite many Places in which the true *Origen* plainly teaches, that the very first Matter of the World had a Beginning, and was made of Nothing by God. Surely that Dissertation, which is in the 24th Chapter of the *Philocalia*,¹ is professedly intended against their Error, who made Matter Co-eternal with God. But what is the chief, we have two very credible Persons, who witness that this place was really taken from a certain genuine Dialogue of *Origen's* against the *Marcionites*, namely, *Basil* the Great, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, Men we must believe rather than *Huetius*, though a very learned Person, especially when it is considered that whilst he censures the greatest Men, he very much exposes himself, as we shall shew hereafter. What say you to this, that it was the known Doctrine of *Origen*, that the Son was begotten of God the Father before all the Creatures, and therefore was more Antient than they? Thus he speaks (to omit very many other Places) in his fifth Book against *Celsus*: “For the Son of God,² the First-born of every Creature, though he hath lately taken upon him Humane Nature, is not therefore new. For the Scriptures confess him the most Antient of all Creatures.” Now how can this be consistent with that Opinion which makes the Creature Co-eternal with God?

4. But, if we grant *Petavius*, that *Origen's* genuine Doctrine is delivered in the place alledged, it is certain, however, that there is a very wide Distinction made by him between the Son of God and the Creatures. For he teaches, that the Creatures were Eternally with God as made by him; but that the Son was Eternally with God as begotten of him, and his Only-begotten; that the Creatures were Eternally subject to God, as their Lord; but that the Son did exercise Authority over them eternally, with one and the same Omnipotence, as one God with the Fa-

¹ p. 84. Ed. Cantab. cum Libb. contra Celsum.

² p. 257.

ther, as Lord, King and Prince. Lastly, He in that Place so distinguishes the Son from every created Nature, as to make them convertible, and mutable, him altogether inconvertible and immutable, his Glory pure and unmixed, theirs neither pure, nor sincere, the Justice, Wisdom and other Virtues of the Creatures mere accidents; his (as the Father's) his very Essence. Behold, Reader, the very Words from which *Petavius* raised his Calumny, In the first Book of *Principles*, Chap. 2. explaining the Words of the Author of the Book, intituled, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, concerning the Wisdom of God, which says that it was, "A Vapour of the Divine Power, and the purest Efflux of the Almighty Glory, he thus discourses: "As there can't be a Father, unless there be a Son, nor a Lord without a Possession, so neither can God be called Almighty, unless those Things exist, upon which he may Exercise his Power; and therefore it is necessary all Things subsist, to prove him to be Almighty. For if any one will have it, that there were Ages, or Spaces, or whatever he will call them, before the making those Things that were made, without doubt he will prove this, that in those Ages, or Spaces, God was not omnipotent, but became so afterwards, after he possessed those Things, upon which he might Exercise his Authority, and thus he will seem to have received some Perfection, and to have proceeded from worse to better. For no Body doubts, but that it is better to be omnipotent, than not to be so. And will it not appear absurd, that God, by a certain Improvement, should come to have that, which he had not before; though it was fit he should have had it? But if the Time never was when he became Omnipotent, those Things must necessarily subsist, by which he is said to be Omnipotent, and he always had to exercise his Power upon, and to govern as a King or Prince. But how did he call him the Glory of the Omnipotent, of which Glory, Wisdom is the Efflux? By this we are taught, that the Wisdom partaketh in the

Op. Origen. Lat. p. 1. p. 673. Ed. Bas. 1571.

" Glory

“ Glory of Omnipotence, by which God is called Al-
 “ mighty. Now by the Wisdom, which is Christ, God
 “ not only holds the Omnipotence by the Authority of a
 “ Ruler, but by the free Obedience of the Subjects. But
 “ that you may know, that the Omnipotence of the Fa-
 “ ther and Son is one and the same, as he is one and the
 “ same God and Lord with the Father, hear St. *John* speak-
 “ ing after this manner in the Revelations: *These Things*
 “ *said the Lord God, who is, and who was, and who is to*
 “ *come, the Almighty.* For who is the Almighty, who is
 “ to come, but Christ? And as no one ought to be offend-
 “ ed, since the Father is God, that the Saviour is God also;
 “ so no Body ought to be offended, since God the Father
 “ is Almighty, that the Son is said to be Almighty also.
 “ Thus will that be true which he speaks to the Father,
 “ *All thine are mine, and all mine are thine, and I am glorified*
 “ *in them.* The Glory of the Wisdom is very fitly called
 “ the *purest*, and *clearest*, in Contradistinction of that Glory,
 “ which is not purely and clearly said to be Glory. Now
 “ every Nature, which is convertible, and commutable,
 “ although glorified, is glorified only in the Works of
 “ Justice and Wisdom through Jesus Christ, and hath
 “ Justice and Wisdom accidentally; now what is accidental
 “ may fail, but his sincere and brightest Glory can’t fail.
 “ The Wisdom of God, which is his Only-begotten Son,
 “ because in all Things inconvertible and immutable, and
 “ because in him * *exists all substantial Good*, namely, what
 “ can never be changed, or turned, is therefore called his
 “ pure and sincere Glory.” I have therefore thought it
 worth the while to recite this, though a prolix Passage, to

* Grabe. To have in himself all substantial Good, is by Origen else-
 where (in this very first Book *περὶ ἀρχῶν*) taken for a certain Cha-
 racteristic of the true Divinity, which is in the Holy Trinity alone, Fa-
 ther, Son, and Holy Spirit, and is incompatible with every Creature.
 For thus he writes, Chap. 5. p. 679. “ We must confess concerning
 “ Good and Holy Spirits, that they have no substantial Good in them;
 “ which we have plainly shewn to be only in Christ and in the Holy
 “ Spirit, as also without doubt in the Father. For the Nature of the
 “ Trinity appears not to have any Composition in it, and consequent-
 “ ly not any Accident.

shew you clearly *Petavius's* Temper. For I have elsewhere abundantly proved *Origen's* Acknowledgment of the Consubstantiality before.

5, Yea, the very places of *Origen*, produced by *Athanasius*, (for all that *Petavius* can say) are a sufficient Affirmation of the Son's Consubstantiality, as well as his Co-eternity, if we observe upon the Thing it self, not the bare Words only. For in them he very plainly teaches, that the Son is all that the Father is, upon which account he infers, that since the Father is invisible, the Son is also invisible. Then he absolutely says, that the Son knows the Father, which agrees not to any created Nature. Besides, where he calls the Son the Splendor of the Father's Glory, by that Similitude is manifestly designed the Communion of Nature between the Father and the Son. Lastly, When he affirms, that the Son is the very Wisdom and Reason of God the Father subsisting in him, he plainly enough signifies, that this Son of God is nothing foreign to, or different from God the Father, as created Things are, but some thing intimate and co-essential with him, which he can no more be without, than his Wisdom, his Reason, or his Life. Sure whosoever will open his Eyes may quickly see, that *Origen* doth conclude the Co-eternity of the Son from his Consubstantiality (which he takes for granted).

6. What *Huetius* ¹ affirms to be *Origen's* Opinion, namely, *That the Matter of which the World was made, did not only exist Eternally with God, but also issued forth from the Substance of God*, (so that the Matter of the World is in nothing inferior to the Nature of God), is very far from Truth; nor can the great Man produce one Passage, even out of the most corrupted Pieces of *Origen*, to vouch so detestable a Blasphemy. Nay, he expressly teaches the contrary in that place, where he seems to assert the Eternity of the World, and in many others. So in the sixth Book against *Celsus*, in a place I have cited above, he so distinguishes the Son of God from every created Nature, as to pronounce *him* ² *unmade, them made*. But how shall this

¹Origenian. lib. 2. F. 44.

² *ἄκτιστος*.

Distinction

Distinction stand, if as well the first Matter of the Creation as the Son of God existed eternally with God, and issued forth from the very Substance of God? So in the Preamble of the first Book of *Principles*, from which this Accusation is taken, reckoning up those Things, which are necessary to be believed of all Men, he places these two in the Front: First, *That there is one God, who created and composed all Things, and who made them of Nothing*; then, *That Jesus Christ was born of the Father before every Creature*. You observe a manifest Distinction, in which the Son of God is said to be born of the very Father before every Creature, but the Creature to be made of Nothing. It is easy to produce an hundred such Places: But I think we have sufficiently explained *Origen's* Opinion. I now proceed to the *Anti-Nicene* Writers who have confirmed the same Doctrine by their Testimonies.

C H A P. IV.

The Decree of the Nicene Fathers, concerning the Co-eternal Existence of the Son, is confirmed by the express Words of Cyprian, the two Dionysii, Gregory Thaumaturgus, the six Bishops, who wrote from the Synod of Antioch to Paulus Samosatenus, Theognostus, Methodius, Pamphilus Martyr, and Arnobius.

CYPRIAN among other Testimonies of Scripture, which confirm the supreme Divinity of Christ, cites, *Ch. xxi. v. 6, 7. of the Apoc.* [†] *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give him that is thirsty of the Fountain of living Water for nothing. He*

[†] Cypr. lib. 2. c. 6. p. 35.

that shall overcome, shall possess them * and their Inheritance, and I will be his God, and he shall be my Son. In these Words every one sees the true God plainly described, who is from Everlasting to Everlasting. Nor can you expect more from St Cyprian, who, though he very often (as we have shewn before) preaches up the true Divinity of the Son, and therefore by plain Consequence his Eternity, no where directly treats of the Son's Co-eternity. But notwithstanding, from his citing that Place in the *Apocalypse*, for Proof of our Saviour's Divinity, in which the absolute Eternity of the supreme God is plainly described, and from his interpreting it concerning Christ, we certainly gather, that the Holy Martyr wholly abhorred the blasphemous *Arian* Tenet, *There was a time when he was not.*

2. Next to St. Cyprian is Pope *Dionysius*, his Contemporary. There is an excellent Sentence of his taken by *Athanasius* out of an Epistle against the *Sabellians*. "It is no common Blasphemy, nay, it is the greatest, to say that the Lord was after a sort made with Hands. For if he was made, there was a time when he was not: But he always was. If he is in the Father, as he saith, if Christ is the Reason, the Wisdom, the Power. (Now the Holy Scriptures say, that he is these; and these are the Powers of God). If then the Son was made, there was a time when these Things were not, yea, there was a time when God was without these. But this is very absurd." From this famous Testimony it appears, that what *Arius* said of the Son of God, the time was when he was not, was publish'd long before *Arius*, by other Heretics. Compare what we have observed in the preceding Chapter, speaking of *Origen*. Here also you see, that *Dionysius*, the chief Prelate of the whole World, held that Saying to be blasphemous and very absurd. Besides, it is to be observed, that these Words are not the Opinion of *Dionysius* only, but the whole Clergy of *Rome*. For *Dionysius* wrote that Epistle, according to the Custom of the

* In the Greek πάντα, all Things. The Alex. MSS. Ταῦτα, ἃ ἐσονται αὐτῷ θεός. Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 232.

Age he lived in, not without the Consent of the Clergy called together in a legal Synod. Lastly, It will not be impertinent to take Notice, that *Dionysius* from this, proved the eternal Existence of the Son of God with his Father, that he is the *Logos* existing in God the Father. For thus he argues: If the Son be, and exists in God the Father, as his Word, Wisdom, and Power, then it can't be said of him without the greatest Blasphemy, *There was a time when he was not*; but the Son of God is, and exists in God the Father, as his Word, &c. Therefore, &c. The Consequence of the major Proposition *Dionysius* justly took for granted, as what was founded upon these Principles in Divinity; *Whatsoever is in God, is God, and whatsoever is God, is Eternal*. He proves the Assumption in Scripture, from the Words of our Saviour especially, *I am in the Father*. So have we heard *Origen* arguing a little before; and the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers (to say nothing of the *Post-Nicene*) commonly use this Method. Now this Method utterly confounds *Arianism*. For the *Arians* held two Words, and two Wisdoms, the one residing in the Father as his, properly and naturally, by which he made the Universe, and also the other Word: The other begotten of the Father, and of this inward Word, which is abusively or improperly called the Word, as not being his genuine Word, nor Co-eternal with him, but made of nothing by him, when he was about to make the World. Now this latter Word they called the Son of God: So ¹ *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, says in his Epistle to the Bishops of the Catholic Church, where enumerating the chief Tenets of the *Arians*, he writes thus: "These are
 " the Things which they invent, and speak contrary to
 " the Scriptures. God was not always a Father, but there
 " was a time when God was not a Father. The Word
 " of God was not always, but was made of nothing;
 " God who existed made him, not yet existing of no-
 " thing. Upon which Account there was a time when
 " he was not, for the Son is something created and made.

¹ Socrates. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 9, 10.

" Neither

“ Neither is he like to the Father in Substance ; nor the
 “ true and natural Word of the Father, nor his true Wis-
 “ dom ; but he is one of those that were created and
 “ made, improperly called the Word, and the Wisdom,
 “ being made by the proper Word of God, and the Wis-
 “ dom in God, by which he made him, and all Things.
 “ Therefore he is liable to Turn and Change as all other
 “ rational Creatures are. And this Word is foreign to,
 “ different and widely distant from the Substance of God.”
 So *Athanasius*, ¹ and *Cyril* ² of *Alexandria*. You’ll say, that
Dionysius Romanus, and the other Fathers, (as it is mani-
 fest), who reasoned after this manner, got clear of the
Arian Heresy ; but who can free them from the contrary
 extreme, *Sabellianism* ? For *Dionysius* seems to have thought,
 that the Reason it self, *i. e.* the *Logos*, by which the Fa-
 ther himself is rational, which we have a Notion of as a
 Form in his Essence, is the Son of God. I answer, it is
 not credible that *Dionysius* defended *Sabellianism* in that
 Epistle which he wrote professedly against the *Sabellians*,
 and in which he expressly charges *Sabellius* with the Blas-
 phemy of asserting that the Son is the very Father ; and
 on the other hand, that the Father is the Son. Hereafter
 we will clearly shew, how the antient Catholics called the
 Son the Reason of the Father, and at the same time ac-
 knowledged him to be a Person distinct from the Father.
 In the mean time I proceed to confirm the Son’s Eternity
 by the Suffrages of the other *Ante-Nicene* Writers.

3. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* is the next, a Contemporary
 of his Name-sake. This was one of those Heads of Do-
 ctrines, which his Adversaries objected against him before
Dionysius Romanus : “ God was not always a Father, the
 “ Son was not always, but God was sometime without a
 “ *Logos*. The Son himself, was not before he was born,
 “ or made, but there was a time when he was not. For
 “ he was not Eternal, but was made afterwards.” ³ *Atha-*
nasius expressly saith, that *Dionysius* defended himself from

¹ Orat. 1 and 3. & in Lib. de sententia Dionysii. ² Cyrill. in Jo-
 annem. lib. 1. c. 4. ³ Athan. Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 253.

these Accusations. Now it appears from this Accusation; that the Proposition, There was a time when the Son was not, was by the Catholics held to be Heterodox and Absurd in the times of *Dionysius*. But how does *Dionysius* defend himself? By owning the Charge? No. He professes that he did from his Heart acknowledge, and always had acknowledged the Co-eternity of the Son. For in the first Book of his *Refutation* and *Apology*, he says, *There was not a time when God was not a Father*. And sometime² after he writes thus concerning the Son of God: "Since he is the Effulgence of the eternal Light, he himself is altogether * *Eternal*; for since the Light is always, the Effulgence it is manifest must also be always." Again: "God is³ an eternal Light, without beginning or end; therefore an eternal Effulgence is projected by him, co-exists with him † without beginning, and always born." And again: "⁴ The Son alone is always Co-existent with the Father, and is filled with the existent Being, and is himself existent from the Father." There are places parallel to these in the Epistle of *Dionysius*, which is now extant, to *Paulus Samosatenus*, and in his Answer to *Paul's* Questions set after the Epistle. In the Epistle he writes thus of Christ; *There is one Christ, who is in the Father, the || co-eternal Word*. In his Answers⁵ he thus introduces Christ speaking from the Prophet *Jeremy*: *I who always am the Christ subsisting personally, equal to the Father, in that I differ nothing from him in Substance, Co-eternal also with the Almighty Spirit*. Here he confesses the entire co-eval, co-eternal Trinity of Persons. The same *Dionysius*⁷ blames *Paulus*, because he would not call Christ the co-eternal Character of God the Father's Person. And in the same place he thus declares the Eternity of the Son: "As then we perceive, when one takes from one of our material Fires, and neither affects, nor divides it in the kindling one Light from another, but the Fire remains; so incomprehensibly is the eternal Generation of Christ from

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

* *Αἰδιότῳ*.

³ p. 254.

† *Ἀναρχόν*.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Bibl. Patr. Tom. II. p. 276.

|| *Συναιδιότῳ*.

⁶ p.

284.

⁷ p. 287.

"the Father." Lastly, That this was his constant Opinion, which he always held, every where preach'd and profess'd, he affirms in these Words: "I have wrote, do write, confess, believe and preach, that Christ is co-eternal with the Father, the Only-begotten Son, and Word of the Father." Let *Sandius* brazen his Forehead, and boast still that the great *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was of *Arius's* Mind.

4. *Gregory Thaumaturgus* follows *Dionysius*, who being a Contemporary of the *Dionysii*, and joined to those two great Lights, wonderfully shone upon that happy Age. In this Confession of Faith, which I copied, and very plainly proved to be genuine, Christ is called the *eternal Character of God the Father, and the eternal Son of the eternal Father*. Nay, in the same Confession, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are said to be a *Trinity perfect in Glory, Eternity, and an undivided and unalienated Kingdom*.

5. In the Days of this *Gregory*, six Bishops of very great Note in the Synod of *Antioch*, convened against *Paulus Samosatenus*, wrote (without doubt from the common Sentiment of the other Bishops) an Epistle to *Paul*, in which they thus speak of the Son of God: "We believe him always to have existed with the Father, and to have fulfilled the Father's Will in the Creation of all Things." In these Words they plainly teach, that the Son of God was not only before the Creation of all Things, (for by him all Things were made), but always co-existed with the Father, *i. e.* was Co-eternal with him. *Sandius*³ notwithstanding, writes thus concerning these Bishops, *That they hinted not obscurely, that the Son, before he was actually begotten of the Father, was only potential*. I desire to know in what Words of the Epistle they hint this. I doubt not but that he hath an Eye to those Words, where the Holy Prelates say, *That the Father begat the Son, as a living Act, or Energy, existing by himself, and doing all in all*. There is a Writer⁴ to whom *Sandius* has great Obligati-

¹ p. 299. ² Bibl. Patr. Tom. 11. ³ Enecl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 124. ⁴ *Irenicum Irenicorum*, p. 66.

ons, who concludes the same from those Words. But if the Trifler would not have passed Sentence upon the Bishops, from hear-say, as his Custom is, but had himself look'd into the Words of the Epistle, and compared them with the Context, he would soon have owned, that they are nothing to the purpose of the Son's Eternity. For the Fathers there censure the Heresy of *Paulus* and *Sabellius*, who agreed in this, that they believed the Word, or Son of God, by whom all Things were made, to be *the Power of God not personally subsisting*. Against them the Holy Men teach, that God the Father begat the Son, *as a living and subsisting Power*. Their Words in the same place concerning the Son of God have the same view: *By whom the Father made all Things, not as by an Instrument, nor as by Knowledge not personally subsisting*. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, writing at the same time, hath an Eye to the same Heretics, whilst he thus begins his Confession: *There is one Father of the living Word, of the subsisting Wisdom*. The Case is plain.

6. *Theognostus Alexandrinus*, a very great Man, plainly confirms the Son's Co-eternity in that famous Fragment of his Expositions, preserved by *Athanasius*, and cited by us entire, ¹ when he says: *The Essence of the Son is not something brought in from without, or super-induced out of nothing; but it came naturally from the Essence of the Father, as Splendour from Light*. In these Words, he first denies the Son to be super-induced, and by consequence confesses him to be Eternal. For if there had been a time when the Son was not, and he was afterwards added to the Father, then sure he is rightly said to be super-induced to the Father. Again, he signifies to us the same, when he says, that the Son is begotten of the Father's Substance, as Splendour is sent forth from Light; and it is necessary, that the Splendour of an eternal Light be Eternal. Now it is the more sure *Theognostus* intended this, because he was the Disciple of *Origen*, who illustrates the Eternity of the Son by the same Simile in many places of his Writings.

¹ Sect. 2. ch. 10. n. 7.

7. *Methodius*,¹ whom *Sandius* following *Petavius* reckons among the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, who were of *Arius's* Mind, preaches up the eternal Generation of the Son from the Father in Words exceeding clear. For upon the place of the *Psalmist*: *Thou art my Son, to Day have I begotten thee*, he makes this Note: "It is to be observed, that he
"saith, he is his Son indefinitely, and without setting a
"time. For he said to him, *Thou art my Son*; not,
"thou wast made—shewing, that he was neither lately
"adopted, nor that he who pre-existed had an end; but
"that he is the same always."

8. It is very certain *Pamphilus Martyr* believed the absolute Eternity of the Son, because he strenuously defended *Origen*, as Catholic in that Article. For in his Apology for *Origen* he attempts, nay, he solidly proves against his Accusers, that he in many places of his Writings asserted these Doctrines: *That the Father was not before the Son, but the Son Co-eternal with the Father, and that the Generation of the Son of God was without beginning*. Consult the Apology it self by all means. From the Doctrine of *Pamphilus* you may guess what that of his Master *Pierius* was, namely, that he was Orthodox in this Article. This is also further confirmed in that *Pierius* was a very studious Follower of *Origen*, who (as we have abundantly evinced) constantly in all his Writings asserted the co-eternal Existence of the Son with the Father. To which you may add, that even *Photius* (as I have² shewed before) does especially relate this of him, that he believed piously concerning God the Father, and the Son.

9. Lastly, *Arnobius*, the same who acknowledged the Divine Nature in Christ, (if any Antient of them all did), who very clearly and often professed that the Son of God was properly, and without any Ambiguity true God; the same *Arnobius*, I say, doth no less clearly affirm, that all the truly Divine Nature is absolutely Eternal, as well a *parte ante*, as a *parte post*. I could confirm this by very many places, but I'll only bring one Testimony or two. In the

¹ Phot. 237. Cod. p. 959.

² Sect. 2. ch. 13. n. 2.

third Book, ¹ the excellent Orator thus discourses of the Divine Natures from the common Sentiment of Christians: "We are of this Opinion concerning this Matter; " that all Divine Nature, which neither at any time begun, nor will ever draw to an end of Life, is without " corporeal Lineaments, &c." In the 7th Book, not far from the beginning, he thus speaks to the *Gentiles* concerning their Gods: ² "You are wont to tell us, that " there are very many Gods, and that they are computed " in a Series of Names. Now, if they be any where, as " you say, and if they be true, as *Terentius Varro* believes, " it follows, that they are like their Names, *i. e.* such as " we all see they ought to be, who are to be called by this " Name; yea, to be short, such as the Lord of the Universe, as the Almighty, whom we all know to call " God, and understand to be true God, when we come " to mention his Name. For one God, as God, doth " not at all differ from another; nor can that, which is " one in the whole, the Genus, be less, or more in its " Parts, supposing it still to keep the Uniformity of its " proper Nature. If this admits no doubt, it follows, " that they should never be made, should be perpetual." From this Opinion of *Arnobius* we form this Argument: Whosoever is true God, ought to be entirely like God the Father, and Lord of all, and therefore Unmade and Eternal; but Christ the Son of God, is true God; therefore Christ the Son of God is entirely like God the Father and Lord of all Things, and therefore Unmade and Eternal. The major Proposition is the express Words of *Arnobius* in the place cited. And the Minor we have also proved before to be likewise the clear Sense of *Arnobius*. Moreover, I don't at all doubt, but that *Arnobius* in these Words; *One God, as God, differs not from another, &c.* thought of the most venerable Mystery of the Trinity, which was believed by the Christians. For in that sacred Trinity, one Person, as God, *i. e.* according to the Divine Nature common to every one, doth in nothing

¹ *Arnob. lib. 3. p. 101. in fine.*

² *Lib. 7. p. 201.*

differ

differ from another, nor is there more or less in one Person than in another ; but the Uniformity of Quality proper to God, or of the Divine Properties is preserved in every one. Upon which Account, since God the Father, whom *Arnobius* calls the Lord of all Things, is Uncreate and Eternal ; it follows, that the Son of God, whom *Arnobius*, as is said before, did also believe true God, is likewise Uncreate and Eternal. In this indeed he spoke improperly, namely, in calling the Divine Persons Parts. But this is easily to be pardoned in one who was not yet skilled in the Christian Discipline, who had not been regenerated by Holy Baptism, and who was then speaking to the profane *Gentiles* : Especially when in the same place, and with the same Breath he says, that the whole Divinity ought to be in every part of the Divinity.

10. Thus much of the Catholic *Ante-Nicene* Writers, who have openly, clearly, and perspicuously taught and professed the Co-eternity of the Son. From all which it is plain, that what the Jesuit *Petavius* has wrote¹ in his Explication of what the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers thought concerning the Son of God, is false ; “ Then they said, that “ the Son was produced by the supreme God and Father, “ when he was about to make the Universe, that he might “ have him his Minister. This Opinion some signify “ more plainly, others more obscurely. Of this latter sort “ for the most part are *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus*, “ *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*. But these and the rest that I “ have named (and he had almost named all the *Ante-Nicene* “ Fathers) thought like *Origen*, that the Father was Superior to the Son in Time, Dignity, and Power : And “ though they asserted that the Son was of the Nature and “ Substance of the Father, in which Thing alone they “ made the Condition of the Son different from that of “ the Creatures properly so called, yet they were of Opinion, that he had a beginning as well as the Creatures, “ i. e. was not Eternally a distinct Person.” For so many of the antient *Ante-Nicene* Writers, whose Opinions I

¹ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 5 and 7.

have particularly and exactly explained before, have plainly denied that the Father is Superiour to the Son in time, and that the Son had a Beginning. As for *Origen*, who is especially charged with this Blasphemy by *Petavius*, we have sufficiently proved him a strenuous Defender of the Son's Co-eternity. Hence the Truth of our first *Thesis* is manifest, namely, *That the greater and better part of the Ante-Nicene Doctors did directly, openly, clearly, and perspicuously teach the co-eternal Existence of the Son with the Father.* For *Ignatius*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Dionysius* the Pope of Rome, *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, the six famous Bishops, who wrote to *Paulus Samosatenus* from the Synod of *Antioch*, *Theognostus*, *Methodius*, *Pierius*, *Pamphilus Martyr* and *Arnobius*, (who were certainly the greater and better part of the *Ante-Nicene* Writers), all of them very openly confessed the Eternity of the Son. To these you may add one, I forgot to mention in his proper place, *Caius* the Presbyter, a noted Man, and a very antient Writer, who is by *Photius* said, *To have unblameably described the ineffable Generation from the Father*: ¹ What *Photius* would not have said, if he had not acknowledged the eternal Generation. Hence it is manifest then, that the Opinion which made the Son of God co-eternal with God the Father, was not only pleasing to most of the *Ante-Nicene* Doctors; but also was the received, approved, and establish'd Faith and Opinion of the Primitive Church. For *Ignatius*, an Apostolical Writer, therefore blames the *Cerinthian Gnostics*, because contrary to the Faith of the Apostolical Church they said the Word had a Beginning: *Irenaeus*, the Disciple of *Polycarp*, did the same. It appears from the History of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, that they who then denied the Eternity of the Son, were thought Heterodox by the Prelates of the Church. Pope *Dionysius* not giving us his own Opinion and Faith, but that of all the *Roman* Clergy, condemned the Saying of *Arius* concerning the Son of God, *There was a time when he was not*, as the

¹ Phot. Cod. 48. p. 35.

greatest Blasphemy. Lastly, The six Bishops, by the Authority of the whole Synod of *Antioch* (which consisted of very many Bishops, and whose Judgment all the Catholic Church under Heaven approved) wrote an Epistle to *Paulus Samosatenus*, in which they clearly asserted the absolute Eternity of the Son of God.



C H A P. V.

The second Thesis is proposed concerning those Fathers, who seemed to deny, but really confessed the Eternity of the Son. Athenagoras his Opinion concerning the Co-eternity of the Son is accurately explained.

I Proceed now to those Doctors, who, though they seemed to deny the Co-eternity of the Son of God, really confessed it. This our second *Thesis* shall be concerning them in the manner following :

T H E S I S II.

TH E R E are some Catholic Writers, more Antient than the Synod of Nice, who seem to say, that the Son of God, as God, had a certain Nativity, which began at some certain time, and immediately preceded the Creation. But yet they were far from Arianism. For if what they said is more accurately considered, it will appear that they spoke, not of a true and proper Nativity, in which the Son received a beginning of his Subsistence : But of a figurative and metaphorical One ; namely, they intended this only, That the Word, who existed in and with God the Father before all Ages, (when there was nothing but God), as the co-eternal Off-spring of the eternal Mind, actually went out from the Father, when he was about to make the World, and proceeded to constitute all Things, and to

manifest himself and the Father to the Creatures, and that, because of this Proceſſion and Maniſeſtation, he is called the Son of God and the Firſt-born. (Thoſe that have thus explained the ſacred Doctrin are for the moſt part Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus Antioch. Hippolytus, and Novatian, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity, which is among the Works of Tertullian, and under his Name. Of theſe in their Order).

1. And firſt of *Athenagoras*. *Petavius*, as we have before noted, ¹ ranks him among thoſe *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, who more clearly ſignified, and more openly delivered that blaſphemous Opinion of *Arius*, which affirms, that the Son was then firſt produced by the ſupreme God, when he determined to make the World, and that the Son had a beginning no leſs than the other Creatures. ² *Huetius*, too much depending upon the Authority of *Petavius*, brings *Athenagoras* into the Liſt of thoſe Writers, who commented falſely and abſurdly upon the Trinity. But the Defence of *Athenagoras* will not be very difficult, if the place, from which theſe learned Men have taken Occaſion to calumniate him, be produced and accurately examined. *Athenagoras* then in his Apology ³ or Embaſſy for the Chriſtians to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *L. Aurelius Commodus* the Emperors, expounds the Chriſtian Profeſſion concerning the moſt Holy Trinity. After he has ſpoken of God the Father, he proceeds to the ſecond Perſon, and aſſerts, that God has a Son. Leſt that ſhould ſeem ridiculous to the Philoſophers, to whom he ſpeaks, as though the Chriſtians dreamt of Fictions like the poetical Fables of the Sons, Daughters, and Nephews of *Jove*, he ſhews, that what they philoſophiz'd concerning the Son of God, was to be expounded far otherwiſe, namely, in a ſpiritual Senſe worthy of God; ſo that the Son of God is to be underſtood, *The Word of the Father*, as having ſuch a Relation to the Father, as the interior Word

¹ Ch. 4. n. 10. of this Section.

² Huetius Origenian. lib. 2. c. 3.

n. 6. p. 187.

³ Append. Juſt. Martyr, p. 10.

hath to the Humane Mind, which Word is spiritual, does not fall under the Cognizance of the Senses, remains in the Mind from which it proceeds, and is not separated from it; upon which account Man's Understanding, [*which is his interior Word*], is often called his Mind. Thus the Word of God the Father is the Off-spring of the Father's Mind, born of it, remaining in it, and so intimately united to it, that it may be called the very Mind of the Father, and so the Father and Son may justly be called one. He adds, that the Son of God is his *Word* ' *in Idea and Energy*, namely, as he is the Exemplar, and Art Divine (if we may so speak) according to which the Father, when he had a mind to do it, made all Things, and from whom, and by whom all Things were made. See the very Words of *Athenagoras*: " 2 Let no one think it ridiculous that God should have " a Son. For we have not such Notions of either God " the Father, or the Son, as the fabulous Poets, who re- " present their Gods no better than Men. But the Son of " God is the Word of the Father in Idea and Power. * " *For by him and through him* all Things were made, the " Father, and the Son being one, the Son in the Father, " and the Father in the Son by the Unity and Power of " the Spirit. The Son of God is the Mind and Word of " God." What he said concerning the Son, or Word of God in Idea and Operations, he explains more clearly in the Words immediately following: " If you have a mind " to look into this matter *very exactly*, or according to the " Excellence of Knowledge, I will in a few Words tell " you, what the Son is. He is the first-born of God, " not as though he was created (for God being an eternal " Mind, had from the beginning a Reason in himself, be- " ing eternally Rational) but as Proceeding, when all Things " merely material, when unformed Nature, and the Earth

* Append. Justin Martyr, p. 10. * Ibid. * Πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν. Ibid. Dr. Whitby will have it πρὸς αὐτὸν, for a Reason which he knows best. It is scarce worth the while to observe upon his Omissions and Alterations in citing, the Imaginations and Misconstructions in interpreting this Author.

" were,

" were, if we may so speak, * in Conception ; when the
 " groffer Particles were mixt with the lighter, proceeding"
 " I say then, or coming out from the Father to give them
 " Form and actual Existence." I say this Explication of
Athenagoras is far from the Blasphemy of *Arius*, yea is
 plainly Catholic, if we observe the Substance of the Doc-
 trine concerning the Son of God. The *Christian* Philoso-
 pher indeed confesses, that the Word of God the Father is
 therefore called his first Off-spring, by the Christians, be-
 cause of a certain Proceſſion, by which he came out from
 God the very Father, when he was about to make the
 World, and that with this design, that the World should
 be made by him : Of this we shall speak often hereafter.
 But yet he so explains this Proceſſion, as makes it clear,
 that he had no thought concerning the Word, and Son of
 God, which was unworthy of his unchangeable Divinity,
 and eternal Majesty. For

3. First, He expressly excepts him out of the Rank of
 Creatures. We call him, says he, *the first-born, not as though*
he was any Thing made. * The good Man was truly careful
 of suggesting any impious Notion. What could be said
 plainer against *Arianism*? I wonder therefore what *Petavius*
 thought of when he surmised that *Athenagoras* believed the
 Proceſſion of the Word he speaks of, to be a Production
 of him. Sure the learned Father could not more clearly
 obviate that Calumny than in the Words he used. (2.)
Athenagoras does as plainly assert the Eternity of the Son of
 God, or the Word. Nay, he proves, that he was not made,
 because he eternally existed with the Father. His Words
 are express : *Not as something made, (for God being eternal*
Mind, had from the beginning a Logos, or Reason, being eter-
nally Logicos, or Rational.) And a little after in the same
 Apology he gives it as an undoubted Axiom : *Every thing*
is either unmade and Eternal, ¹ *or made and corruptible.*
 What *φθαρτὸν* or corruptible is, he immediately explains in
 these Words of *Plato* : ² *What has a Beginning, has an End.*

* *Ὁχείας δίκην.* Vide Steph. Thesaurus upon the Word. ¹ p. 18.
² Ibid.

Now γεννῆσθαι there signifies the same as γινόμενον, upon which account, he explains that Word by this a little after: *It is impossible the World [γινόμενον], which is made should remain the same.* And again: *'How can these continue, which don't exist by Nature, but Creation?* Therefore the Sophist Sandius is to be exploded, who hath concluded from this, and other the like Places, that *Athenagoras* thought the Son of God had a beginning of Existence; because, forsooth the Son was in some Sense γεννῆσθαι, i. e. begotten. For where *Athenagoras* saith that every Thing, that is γεννῆσθαι hath a beginning of Existence, it is manifest that γεννῆσθαι there signifies the same as γινόμενον, that is, made. But *Athenagoras* expressly denies, that the Word or Son of God is made γινόμενον in the Place before us; yea in the same Place he affirms, that he existed with God the Father from Eternity. To proceed with *Athenagoras*.

4. (3.) It is manifest *Athenagoras* thought that the Word did so exist from Eternity with the Father, that his Person was no less distinct from the Father, from Eternity, than it was after his Procession. This is certainly to be concluded, because *Athenagoras* says, that the Word, when he proceeded from the Father was not made, or produced, or did not then receive a beginning of Existence. Hence we thus argue: The Word, according to *Athenagoras*, was either a Person distinct from the Father before his Procession, even eternally, or never. The Reason is plain: For if *Athenagoras* thought that the Word, or Son of God was not a distinct Person from God the Father before his Procession, nor did actually and of himself subsist; but was only potentially contained in the Father's Essence, and at length by that Procession brought forth into actual being, and endowed with a Subsistence; then indeed he thought the Word or Son of God was made or produced by that Procession; which yet he expressly denies. The Case is clear. For, if what is brought out of a Possibility of being into actual being, what formerly did not subsist of it self, and is endowed with an actual and distinct Subsistence, is not

to be called made, I would gladly know what can be called so. And hence it is that * *Petavius* makes our *Athenagoras* guilty of *Sabellianism*, as though he had thought the Person of the Father and Son to be, and always to have been only one. This *Petavius* does, and both in that place in which he does it, and in many others, traduces the same *Athenagoras* as an *Arian*, making the learned Father hold two Heresies diametrically opposite to one another. But I beseech the Reader (who is a Lover of Truth, and hath any reverence for the best Writer of the best Age) to use his own Eyes, and read the Words of *Athenagoras* which follow a little after those cited from him. Thus the *Christian* Philosopher proceeds: "Who would not wonder
 " to hear those called *Atheists*, who say that the Father is
 " God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost, and who re-
 " present their Power united, their Order divided?" I cannot but exclaim likewise, Who would not wonder that *Athenagoras* should be called a *Sabellian* by one of any Candor, who has given us so clear a Confession of the three Persons subsisting in one Divine Nature? But in many other Places also he so plainly distinguishes God the Father from the Son of God, as manifests him to be no *Sabellian*. It shall suffice to produce one. As he directs his Discourse more nearly to the Emperors *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *L. Aurelius Commodus* his Son, who was his Collegue in the Empire, and is studious to defend the Religion of the Christians, who profess the worship of one God, and adore his Word, or Son, together with the supreme Parent, he says, that the Image of the Heavenly Empire is shadowed

* This is the common Suggestion of the present Sett of Writers on the Arian side, and Dr. Whitby exactly tallies with *Petavius*. *Athenagoras* must be both an Arian and a Sabellian. I take the Liberty to dissent from the very great Prelate, when he says the Arian and Sabellian Heresies are diametrically opposite to one another. The same Notion of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit which the Arians have, forced them upon that Scheme, and there is but a remove betwixt them. They both have a mean Opinion of the second and third Persons: The one uses the word God in speaking of the Son and Holy Spirit, but no more believes any other Person God but the Father, than the other; the other believes no other Person God but the Father, and plainly says so. p. 11.

forth in their earthly Government. So that, though they are both Monarchical, there are two Persons regnant in them both, yet the Monarchy is preserved entire, whilst the one derives his Authority from the other, and both govern unanimously. These are the Words: ¹ “ For as all Things are managed by you, Father and Son, who have received the Kingdom from above (for the Soul of the King is in the Hand of God says the Prophetic Spirit) so all Things are Subject to the one God, and his Son, who is inseparable from him.” What Disciple of *Sabellius* would argue thus? Surely a *Sabellian* would have defended the Christian Worship after another manner; namely, by saying, that they only owned own Person in the Divinity, *i. e.* the Father, and that the Son is only the Divine Power in Operation. Nay, further, by this very Similitude, which *Athenagoras* uses, the *Catholics* were wont to obviate the *Monarchists*. For thus, to omit the rest, *Tertullian* writes: “ We (say they) ² hold the Monarchy, and thus the *Latines* express the very Word, thus the *Barbarians*, so that you’d believe they not only pronounce, but understand the Monarchy. But the *Latines* are solicitous about the very Sound, the *Greeks* will not understand the Oeconomy. As for my part, if I have any Knowledge of both the Languages, I know that Monarchy signifies nothing else but one and a single Government; but yet not so, as that it therefore has the Title of Monarchy, because it is his only, whose it is, that he has no Son, or that he is his own Son, or that he doth not administer it by whom he pleases. But, I say, that there is no Dominion of one, which is so his, so single, so a Monarchy, as that it may not be administered by other Persons near him, which he has provided as Officials to him. But if he hath a Son, who hath a Monarchy, that the Monarchy is not therefore forthwith divided, and ceases to be a Monarchy, if his Son be taken into Fellowship with him; that it is therefore principally his, by whom it is communicated to the Son, and whilst it

¹ p. 17.² *Tertull.* p. 502.

“ is his, is therefore a Monarchy, which is held by two
 “ so much one.” Sometime after he adds, *This may be extended to a third*, signifying that the relation of the Holy Spirit is the same, and therefore that the true and entire Trinity may be defended, without destroying the Monarchy. This *Athenagoras* knew, as is plain from the Place above-cited, and many others, which might be produced, if there was Occasion.

5. But let us see what moved *Petavius* to charge our venerable Author with *Sabellianism*. He seems, says he, to have thought the Reason, i. e. the Word, by which the Father is rational [*Logicos*], which we consider as a Form in his Essence, to be the Son of God. But how came the Jesuit to be so foully deluded, as to think this Man, by the Confession of all the Learned very Learned, to be so Foolish, void of Understanding, and common Sense, as to believe the Mind of God the Father, his Reason, which is the very Form of God the Father, and that by which he is rational, to have come from him before the World was made, with this purpose, that he might make the World? It was from these Words: *God being the eternal Mind had from the beginning in himself Reason, or Logos, since he is from eternity Rational or Logicos*. Here indeed he proves by this Argument the co-eternal Existence of the Word, Reason, *Logos* with God the Father: God is the eternal Mind, and from Eternity, Rational, or *Logicos*; therefore the Reason, or *Logos* did from Eternity exist in and with him. But who would conclude from this, that the *Logos* is the very Mind or Reason of the Father? Nay, who would not think the contrary? For if this had been the Sentiment of *Athenagoras*, he had manifestly play'd the Fool in proving *idem per idem* thus: God is the eternal Mind; therefore he had a Mind in him from Eternity. Though *Athenagoras* said a little before, that the Son of God is the Mind of the Father, namely, in that Sense, in which I there explained it; yet here (where he speaks more strictly and properly) he plainly distinguishes the Son of God from the Mind

of God, and makes this the Cause of that. But to extricate the Reader out of this Labyrinth, it is to be observed, that *Athenagoras* was of the same Opinion with most of the Antients, namely, that the Divine Person, which we call the Word, and Son of God, was after an ineffable and incomprehensible manner born of the Mind and Thought of God from Eternity. There are also many Things to persuade us that this Mystery was delivered to us by the Apostles. *Andrew Rivet* ¹ affirms it to be certain from Scripture, *We are sure* (says he) *that there is that order betwixt the Father and the Son, as there is betwixt him that speaks inwardly, and the Word and Speech of him that speaks inwardly.* But, be that as it will, it is certain many of the Fathers thought so. For they determined, that the Word of God the Father was so called, comparatively, not to the outward Word of Man, but to the inward Thought, or Notion, called by the Philosophers, the Word of the Mind; and therefore that, as that internal Word proceeds necessarily from the Mind of Man, and exists with it, so his Word is necessarily begotten of God the Father, and co-eternal with him: Lastly, as Man, God's Image, whilst he thinks, finds as it were another Person within him talking with him; so in God (who is the Archetypal Image, in whom is most perfectly seen, what is only shadowed forth obscurely in Man) there is his Word, another, and really a distinct Person from himself. Thus *Tertullian* ² elegantly explains this Mystery: "Observe, when you
 "silently reason with your self, that this passes within
 "you, namely, that your Reason and your Word occur
 "to you at every Motion of Thought and Sense. What-
 "soever you meditate, is your Word; whatsoever you think,
 "is your Reason. You must speak that in your Mind, and
 "when you speak, you have the Word talking with you,
 "in which is this Relation, that when you think you
 "speak with it, and when you speak you think by it.
 "Thus there is after a sort two Words in you, by which
 "you speak thinking, and think speaking; the very Word

¹ In Cap. 1. Genes. Exercit. 3. prope finem.

² Tert. p. 503.

" is

“ is twofold. How much more fully is this in God;
 “ whose Image and Similitude only thou art, so that he
 “ hath in himself a silent Reason, and a rational Word ! ”
 Every one must see that according to this Hypothesis *Athenagoras* is right. But *Tatian* his Contemporary hath more clearly expressed the mind of *Athenagoras*, speaking of the co-eternal Existence of the Father and Son in these Words :
¹ *The Word which was in him subsisted with him by a rational Power.* And a little after : *The Word from the rational Power.* Where you see the Word is plainly distinguish'd from the rational Power, and this manifestly made to be the Cause of that, as shall be more fully shewn, when we come to *Tatian*.

6. Now if those that use this reasoning of *Athenagoras* to prove the co-eternal Existence of the Son with the Father, are to be accounted *Sabellians*, almost all the Antients before the Council of *Nice* were *Sabellians*, yea the Catholics who lived at that time and after ; for they all fought with this Weapon. I could bring many Testimonies of this, but I shall content my self with one from the great *Athanasius*, who argues thus against the *Arians* : ² *God is Eternal ; now since the Father is Eternal, his Effulgence, which is his Word is also Eternal.* And again : *The existent God hath a Word existing from him ; for the Word was not made afterwards, not existing before, neither was the Father at any time without a Word.* But what occasion for many Words ? *Petavius* ³ himself thinks this kind of Argument sound, and solid, and he excellently explains it : As for the Antients (says he) who dispute thus : “ The Son is there-
 “ fore Co-eternal with the Father, because the Father ne-
 “ ver existed without his Wisdom and Power, the Light
 “ without its Splendor, &c. They rightly use these
 “ Words, if they are not taken in a formal Sense (as they
 “ speak) but a causal, or illative one. For though the Son,
 “ as Son, is not that very Wisdom, by which the Father
 “ is Wise, yet he is necessarily joined with it, and arises

¹ p. 145, 146.
 6. c. 9. §. 11.

² Orat. 1. contra Arianos.

³ De Trin. lib.

“ from it. For the Wisdom, or Intelligence, which is in
 “ the Father, nay, which is the Father, is a simple Act,
 “ not an Habit, or Faculty. Moreover, every Act of Wis-
 “ dom or Understanding necessarily comprehends in it
 “ Wisdom or Understanding expressed, that is, a Word,
 “ nor can it be conceived without it. The Fathers there-
 “ fore justly conclude the Eternity of the Son from the
 “ Eternity of the Father. For Mind will never be with-
 “ out Word (as ¹ *Cyril* says), nor can Word be understood
 “ without Mind, or Meaning formed in it ; which Thing
 “ he more fully explains in the fourth Book of his *Theſaur-*
 “ *rus*. And as we rightly conclude, that Wisdom, by
 “ which the Father is formally Wise, to be Eternally in
 “ the Father, because the Father never was without Wis-
 “ dom ; so also we no less necessarily prove that the Wis-
 “ dom born of that, and expressed, is Eternal ; because he
 “ could not be actually Wise, or understand without
 “ Knowledge expressed, *i. e.* a Word : Especially con-
 “ sidering that there is no difference between the Father’s be-
 “ ing Wise, as Father, *i. e.* with regard to his Property and
 “ Person, and his speaking ; for that can’t be understood
 “ without the Knowledge expressed, or a Word, as a Term :
 “ So that the Word may be said to be, a certain extrinsic
 “ Form, by which the Father speaks, and is actually in-
 “ telligent. So then those Things are very true, which
 “ the Antients make out in disputing upon the Eternity
 “ of the Son, that the Father was not without Wisdom,
 “ without Word. For indeed he had been without Rea-
 “ son, or Word, and Wisdom, if he had not actually un-
 “ derstood Eternally, which he can’t do without a Word.”
 Thus *Petavius* learnedly and acutely, as usual. Let us pro-
 ceed to explain this famous Passage of *Athenagoras*.

7. (4.) *Athenagoras* plainly teaches, that the Word, by
 that Procession, he speaks of, was not separated from the
 Father, nor did exist without him ; but as he was in God
 the Father before the Procession, and from Eternity, he
 abides in him after it, and to Eternity. For he so asserts

¹ In Joann. 4. p. 413.

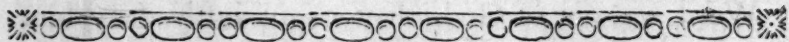
the Father and Son to be one, as that the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son. Therefore, according to *Athenagoras*, that Proceſſion of the Word, was only in order to operate; as he himſelf plainly ſignifies, when he ſays, he proceeded to be the active Power of the Creation. In ſhort, according to *Athenagoras*, the Word before Proceſſion differs only in this from the Word after Proceſſion, that before it was quiſcent with the Father, after was Operative, was the ſame Word in both States, and always abiding in the ſame God the Father.

8. (5.) Laſtly, From all this it follows, that, although *Athenagoras* thought the Word was called the Firſt-born of the Father, becauſe of his Proceſſion; he never meant that that Proceſſion was the true and proper Generation of the Son. For that is to be called the true and proper Generation of any Thing or Perſon, by which it is made or produced: But *Athenagoras* expreſſly denies, that the Word or Son of God was made or produced, by the Proceſſion of which he ſpeaks. Now as a Thing is often ſaid to be, or be made, when it firſt appears, ſo the Word and Son of God, which was without all beginning from God the Father, and with him, the co-eternal Off-ſpring of the eternal Mind, is then ſaid to be born, when in the Creation of all Things he was manifeſted to the Creatures, and God the Father by him. Upon this Account, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, ſome of the Antients have called that Proceſſion of the Word, the Revelation and Oſtenſion of the Son of God; and have ſaid, that thereby he was made viſible, as it were, to the World. It is manifeſt then, that they underſtood a figurative and metaphorical Generation. To ſum up all in a few Words. That alone is the true and proper Generation of the Son, by which he exiſted from Eternity of God the Father, as the Production of his eternal Mind. Upon the Account of this eternal Original and Exiſtence he is truly called the Son of God, namely, as *Tertullian* ſpeaks, ' every Original is a Parent, and every Thing that comes from the Original is an Off-

spring. *Athanasius* ¹ speaks like *Tertullian*: “For if the Word was not of God, they might justly deny him to be the Son; but if he is of God, how do they not perceive, That that which is of any Thing, is the Son of that Thing, of which it is.” ² Again: “The Word then is the Son, not just begotten, not called the Son, but always the Son. For if he was not the Son, neither would he be the Word; and if not the Word, neither the Son. For that which is of the Father is the Son. And what is of the Father, if the Word be not, which is conceived in him, and proceeds from him?” Was *Athenagoras* ignorant of this? No indeed. We have largely shewed before, that he owned the eternal Production of the Word from the Divine Mind. Therefore all Things duly considered, there only remains this one Thing which seems culpable in *Athenagoras*’s Explication, namely, that he calls the Word the First-born of the Father, upon Account of the Procession, of which he speaks. But whosoever lays this to his Charge, is himself guilty of an unprofitable vain Contention about Words. For to what purpose should we wrangle about Words, and the Ways of speaking, when we are agreed about the Thing it self? Again, the Catholic Fathers who lived after the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy, and among them *Athanasius* himself, as we shall clearly prove hereafter, determined that the Son of God was called the first-born *πρωτότοκον*, (the same as the *πρωτον γέννημα* of *Athenagoras*), because of his Procession from God the Father to make all Things, and conceived that Procession to be a certain Generation. I would entreat the honest studious Reader to remember well this Explanation of *Athenagoras*’s (in which he professes a little after to have been very exact about the Christian Doctrine), which, if he does, I dare engage he will much better attain the Meaning of the other Antients, who meant the same, but have expressed themselves generally in a more obscure manner.

¹ Tom. I. p. I. p. 628.

² p. 636.



C H A P. VI.

Tatian's Doctrine of the Son's Eternity is largely declared.

TATIAN, Contemporary with *Athenagoras* comes next. He is reckoned by *Petavius*, the Author of the *Irenicum*, and *Sandius*, among the other Fathers, who with * *Arius* deny the Eternity of the Son. I could plead, that *Tatian* after the Death of his Master *Justin* fell into Heresy, and therefore that his Authority is of no value. But I have no need of such an Answer. The Words of *Tatian*, from which *Petavius*, &c. concludes this his Heresy, seem to me only to want an attentive candid Interpreter. Thus † he writes: “ I will lay before you
 “ our Tenets more plainly : God was in the beginning.
 “ Now we have heard, that the beginning is the Power
 “ of the Word. For the Lord of all, being himself the
 “ Substance of all, was alone, [*with regard to the Creati-*
 “ *on not yet made*], but as he was the whole Power and
 “ Substance of all Things, visible and invisible, all Things
 “ were with him. For the very Word himself, *which*
 “ *was in him*, subsisted with him by a rational Power,
 “ and by his Will the Word proceeded † out of his Sim-
 “ plicity. But the Word not going into empty Air,
 “ became the first-begotten Work of the Spirit ; we know
 “ him to be the Beginning or Principle of the World.”
 I will propose to the impartial Reader an Explication of this place, which being understood, I hope he will easily acquit *Tatian* of Heresy in this Article, and will clearly see that he agrees with the *Nicene* Fathers in the main of what is before us.

* By the Answer to the Queries, Dr. Clarke, &c. he is accounted a Sabellian. † See Dr. Grabe's reading, or rather Version above.

2. First then the Words, [*God was in the beginning ; we have heard that the Power of the Word is the beginning*], are to be weighed. Here it is of great concern, that we know what *Tatian* means by *the Power of the Word*. *Petavius* thought he meant the same by *the Power of the Word*, as afterwards by what he calls *the rational Power*, by which again he understands nothing else but *the Force and Power of Reason, by which God can make all Things*. But I am fully persuaded, that by the *Power of the Word*, is absolutely to be understood the *Word, and Son of God*, and I confirm this Persuasion, if I'm not mistaken, by these evident Reasons. First, The *Power of the Word* is elsewhere constantly found thus used in *Tatian*. So we find it twice in the very next Page ; whereafter he had said, that the Word or Son of God created Man, after Angels, he thus discourses concerning the Providence of the same Word over Man now made : ¹ “ The Power of the Word having within it self the Fore-knowledge of what would happen, not by Fate, but the purpose of free Agents, foretold future Events, and was an hinderer of Evil by Prohibitions, and an encourager of those that would be Good by Praises. And when Men followed after one wiser than the rest, because the First-born, and declared him a God, who was set up contrary to the Law of God, then the Power of the Word rejected the Author of this Madness, and those that followed him.” Here it is plain, the *Power of the Word is the Word or Son of God*. Whence in the latter part of the Sentence the Nominative Case *ἡ δύναμις* of the Feminine Gender hath a Masculine Relative *αὐτῷ*, because the Power of the Word is in Sense no more than the Word. Hence *Tatian* immediately expresseth the Power of the Word, in Words which more clearly denote a Divine Person : ² And he (says he) *being made after the Image of God, when the more powerful Spirit was separated from him, became Mortal*. Here after the manner of the Antients (I note it by the bye) he calls the Word Spirit, as he had done before : ³ For

¹ p. 146.² p. 147.³ p. 146.

the Heavenly Word, who was born a Spirit of God. There is only one place more, if I remember right, where the Power of the Word occurs in the same Sense; namely, where the Christian in the same Oration is said to follow the Power of the ¹ Word, *i. e.* as appears from the Context, the Word, or Son of God.

3. But we have another Argument for establishing our Interpretation. It is plain, that the Power of the Word, and the Beginning, are the same with *Tatian*: But he himself a little after interprets the Beginning, the Word, or Son of God. If you compare the Words in the beginning of the Paragraph cited by us with those in the end, you will see this more clearly. In the beginning are these Words: *We have heard that the Power of the Word is the beginning*; in the end are these, *we know τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου* *this to be the beginning of the World.* This what? this λόγος, or Son of God, of whom he had spoken before. Who can doubt but *Tatian* spoke of the same beginning in both Places? Nor does the *Assyrian* Doctor give us his own Fancy here, but the more common Opinion of Christians, as is plain from the Words [*we have heard*] and [*we know*] most of the Antients called the Word, or Son of God the Beginning, namely that, in which God was before the World was made, and so God created the World from Eternity. So *Theophilus Antiochenus*, the next to *Tatian*, reckoning up the Names of God in his Book to *Autolycus*, says, *If I call him the Word,* ² *I mention his Beginning or Principle.* The same Person says of the Son of God, ³ *He is called the Beginning.* And a little after; *He then being the Spirit of God, and the Beginning Wisdom and Power of the Highest.* So ^{*} *Clement of Alexandria* calls the Son of God *the Beginning, and he that is without Beginning.* So *Origen* ⁴ upon these Words [*in the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*] makes this Note: “What is the beginning of all Things, but our Lord, the Saviour of all, Jesus Christ the first-begotten of every Creature? In this beginning

^{*} P. 157.
in Genesis. 1.

² P. 71.

³ P. 88.

^{*} See above.

⁴ Hom.

“ then, in his Word, God made Heaven and Earth.” So lastly, (to omit other *Ante-Nicene* Fathers), ¹ *Methodius* in the Fragments of his Book of the Creatures, writing upon the same place of *Genesis*, says, *If any one calls the Wisdom it self the Beginning, he will not mistake.* Nor have the Catholic Fathers since *Arianism* philosophized otherwise. For thus *Nazianzen* ² in the second Oecumenical Synod of a hundred and fifty Bishops distinguishing the three Persons of the Divinity. *He that is without beginning, the beginning, and that which is with the beginning, is one God.* And a little after : *The Name of him who is without beginning is the Father, of the beginning the Son, of him who is with the beginning, the Holy Ghost. The Nature of the three is one, namely, God.* Besides, ³ *Augustin*, *Ferome*, and many others, so explain the Words of *Moses* [*In the beginning God created the, &c.* As to interpret the *Beginning* to be the Son of God. I suppose it is sufficiently demonstrated by these Arguments, that *Tatian* by the Power of the Word, meant the Word, or Son of God. But you will say to what purpose has *Tatian* said that God the Father was in the Word or Beginning, before the World was made, and even from Eternity ? I answer : *Tatian* had said of God in the Words immediately preceding, *He who wants nothing is not to be calumniated by us, as though indigent.* He further declares this in the Word immediately following, and hitherto expounded by us, saying, that God from Eternity, and before all created Things, and without them was self-sufficient ; wanted no Habitation or dwelling Place ; nor one with whom he might communicate, or in whom he might delight himself ; for from Eternity he was in his Word and with him. Therefore here the co-eternal Existence of the Word with God his Father is plainly taught. Besides, *Tatian* had a mind to signify this, that the World it self was after a sort present with God, before it was made ; the Word being really present with him, the Principle of the World, the Idea, Exemplar, or art Divine, by which, when he

¹ Photius p. 939.

² Orat. 35. p. 519.

³ Aug. lib. 11.

Conf. c. 9. lib. 12. c. 19, 20, 28. Hieron. Quest. in Genesin.

pleased, he made all Things; as *Petavius* himself has somewhere explained the word Principle or Beginning, according to the meaning of the Antients. What follows in *Tatian*, to which I proceed, will make it still clearer, that this was his mind in the Words cited.

4. Thus he goes on: "For the Lord of all, being himself the Substance of all, was alone, with regard to the Creation being not yet made, &c. The Sense of *Tatian* is plain. The World and all Things therein were, as the School speaks, potentially with God from Eternity. How does he prove this? Thus, Because not only God the Father subsisted from all Eternity, but his Word with him, who is the Beginning or Principle of the World, by Virtue of which, after he came out from the Father, all Things were made." This, I say, was *Tatian's* mind. The World was from Eternity with God in its Principle, the Word, which subsisted eternally with God the Father. That this may appear more clear, these Words must be weighed more accurately: For the Word himself, which was in him, subsisted with him by a rational Power. I say, that in these Words is plainly declared the co-eternal and actual Existence of the Word with God the Father, and that as a distinct Subsistence from him; and also that there is an eternal Cause of his Existence. For (1.) as to the eternal Existence of the Word with God the Father, *Tatian* says expressly, that the Word was in God, and had existed with God, namely, as long as he had been God, before the World was created, and when God was yet alone (that is, no Creature as yet made). (2.) He therein signifies the actual Existence of the Word, in that he attributes the same Mode of existing to the Father, and his Word, expressing the Existence of both by the same Word: Both he, namely, God the Father and his Word *ὁ πρῶτος*, subsisted. But this will be more clearly demonstrated against *Petavius*, by and bye. (3.) *Tatian* tells us in more ways than one, that the Word existed with the Father from Eternity, as a Person distinct from him. For he says, that he existed with God the Father, which cannot properly be said except of two. And speaking of
God

God the Father, and his Word, he saith, both he and the Word that was in him, plainly hinting that the Word was not God the Father. Lastly, lest any one should suspect that the Word here is the same as the Father's rational Power, he plainly distinguishes the Word from the rational Power. As for the Words having an eternal Cause of his co-eternal Existence with the Father, *Tatian* teaches, that the Word was from Eternity with the Father by the rational Power, *i. e.* that he was born Eternally of the Mind of the Father, the co-eternal Off-spring of the eternal Mind, as we have before explained upon *Athenagoras*. But you will say, how then doth he say that God the Father subsisted by his rational Power? The Answer is easy. God the Father, according to *Tatian*, subsisted by a rational Power, as by his Form, *i. e.* he was himself Mind, and Reason Eternal. But God the Son, or the Word subsisted with God the Father by a rational Power, as by an efficient Cause, that is, was from Eternity begotten of the Father's Mind, the co-eternal Off-spring, as we have often said, of the eternal Mind. That may seem absurd indeed that *Tatian* says, that not only his Word, but himself was with God the Father before the World was made. But in common speaking, such as *Tatian* sometimes uses, it is a trite Form for one to be said to be with himself. So we commonly say, *No Body was with me but my self.*

5. We must now answer *Petavius*. "*Tatian* (says he) seems to have thought that the Word, produced by the Father, was not existent actually from Eternity, but potentially, by a rational Power, as afterwards all Things were made by the same." But, I say, *Tatian* can't seem to any one to have thought thus, who shall consider his Words a little more attentively. For if to exist by a rational Power, is in *Tatian's* Sense, to exist not actually, but potentially: For he says as well of God the Father as his Word, that they subsisted from Eternity by a rational Power. But see here *Petavius's* Ingenuity; that he might gain his Point, he hath corrupted *Tatian's* Text, in it self plain enough, and has translated thus: *The Word it self, which was in him, subsisted by a rational Power.* But what puny

puny *Grecian* would not rather have thought the Words should be rendered, as the Interpreter has done it : *Both he and the Word which was in him, &c.* Grant however this absurd Version, what good will it do *Petavius* ? I desire the Jesuit to tell me, what he will do with those Words [*the Word that was in him*] let him say how, according to *Tatian*, the Word was in God the Father from Eternity. He must say in the Power of Reason, not in Act ; and then see what a gross Solæcism will arise from the Words of *Tatian*. They will amount to this : The Word, which was in the Father in the Power of Reason, not in Act, did subsist with the Father not in Act, but the Power of Reason only : What can be more absurd than this ? Besides, what sober Man can persuade himself that [*by the rational Power*] means nothing else but in potential, potentially, as the Words are used by Philosophers to denote those Things, which though not actually Existent, may exist from some certain Causes. Surely λογικὴ δύναμις doth here express a rational Power, or if I may so speak, Faculty ; and when the Word is said to have subsisted with the Father before the World was made, even from Eternity, by his rational Power, the Cause of the Word's eternal Existence with the Father is clearly signified. So that this is the plain meaning of *Tatian* : As in Man, his internal Word necessarily flows from his rational Power, and exists with it, so by the rational Power of God the Word, which was in him Eternally, the Word subsisted with him Eternally. Moreover, *Tatian* hath said, as we saw before, that God was eternally in his Word. What ? Was God in that, which as yet was not, except potentially ? He also asserts, that God was so in the Word, before the World was made, as that he did not want one, with whom he might communicate himself. Could he affirm this of the Word which did not then actually exist ? Lastly, We must look back upon the Passage cited from *Athenagoras*, and compare it with this of *Tatian* : For these two Writers do mutually illustrate one another. *Athenagoras* denies that the Word, or Son of God is made ; adding this Reason for it, that since God the Father is eternal Mind, eternally Rational, that

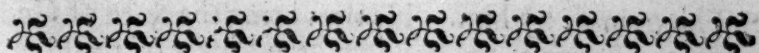
that is, as *Tatian* speaks, has a rational Power, he must necessarily have in him a Word. But how, according to *Athenagoras*, had God the Father a Word in him Eternally; in Power, or Potentially only? This is trifling. For thus the Learned Author might have affirmed, that there is nothing in Nature made; because all Things have existed Eternally in the Divine Power. *Athenagoras* then and *Tatian* also understood an actual Existence of the Word. And indeed who does not see an exact Agreement between what they have both said upon the Eternity of the Son. *Athenagoras* argues, that God the Father had a Word in him Eternally, because he was eternally Rational. In like manner *Tatian* says, that the Word subsisted with the Father before the World was, and consequently Eternally. How? By a rational Power. The Case is plain indeed. Let us proceed to explain *Tatian's* Text.

6. These Words follow in *Tatian*. “ By his Will the
 “ Word proceeded out of his Simplicity, but the Word
 “ not going into empty Air, became the first-begotten
 “ Work of the Spirit. We know him to be the Beginning
 “ of the World. Here *Tatian's* προέδησις is the same as
Athenagoras's προέλευσις, both the Procession of the Word.
Tatian manifestly signifies, that the same Word, which subsisted eternally in and with the Father, when God was pleased to make the World, proceeded from him. How? In Operation, that he might be the active operating Power of the Creation, as *Athenagoras* hath explained it. Or, as *Tatian* a little after, that he might be the *Beginning* or *Principle* of the World. *Tatian's* first-begotten Work, though something harshly expressed, is the same as the πρώτον γέννημα, the first-born of *Athenagoras*. Both of them alluded to the Words of the Apostle, Col. i. 15. *The first-born of every Creature*. But *Tatian* calls the Word, a Work, not in himself considered (for he had said before that he subsisted from Eternity) but with regard to his Procession. So that this is his Sense. When God was pleased to make the World, he caused this first, that the Word should proceed from him; or his first Work was, the sending forth the Word, that afterwards all Things might

might be made by him. For this was his exprefs Doctrine, that there is nothing between Matter and God, the Maker of Matter; therefore that every Creature, not the Angels excepted, are Matter; that it is the Property of Matter to have a Beginning; lastly, that God alone is the Maker of Matter. But he that taught thus, distinguishes the Word from Matter, and plainly determines that he is the Maker of it. This will be clear from the comparing some Places in *Tatian* ¹ *It is thus: (says he) We may see that the whole Frame of the World, and all the Fabric was made of Matter, and Matter was first produced by God.* A little after, in the same Place, he determines by Consequence, that the *Demons*, as the *Heathens* call them, *the Angels are made of Matter.* Again, a little below the place we have been examining, he distinguisheth the Word of God from all Matter, and expressly says, that *he is the Maker of Matter.* For the Word is said by *Tatian*, ² *himself to have made Matter for himself.* A little after are these Words: * “ For Matter is not without Beginning, as God is, nor by Reason of its being without Beginning, is it of equal Power with God, but it is made, and not made by any other, but produced by the Maker of all Things only.” Hence, though he hath used the Name of God purely and religiously, not attributing it to any other but God, he hath not feared to call the Word God. For, says he, ³ *We do not talk foolishly, nor report Trifles to you, when we tell you that God was made in the Form of Man.* After the same manner he often speaks elsewhere. I will not answer for the Similitudes, which *Tatian* uses in explaining after some sort, the Mystery of the eternal Procession, or Profiliation of the Word, which follow the Passage we have explained. Very few, if any, Similitudes, especially those that are accommodated to the Explication of Divine Matters (concerning which we cannot speak plain) run on all four. Besides, I think I

¹ p. 151. ² p. 145. * Dr. Whitby says, that according to *Tatian*, nothing can be God which is not *ἀναρχον*; but *Tatian* here affirms the Word to be God, he therefore affirms him to be *ἀναρχον*. Nay, he affirms him to be *ἀναρχον* as he is *ἀρχὴ*, &c. ³ p. 159.

have sufficiently explained *Tatian's* Doctrine concerning the Co-eternity of the Son.



CHAP. VII.

The Opinion and Faith of Theophilus Antiochenus, concerning the Eternity of the Son, is plainly shewed to be sound, catholic and consonant to the Nicene Creed in the main.

THEOPHILUS follows, the sixth Bishop of Antioch after the Apostles. ¹ *Petavius* places him also among those *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, who approved the blasphemous Tenet of *Arius*, *There was a Time when he was not*. Let *Theophilus* shew himself then in the Defence of his own Orthodoxy, but let him engage entire, well furnish'd and guarded with his own Armour, not mangled and stript, as *Petavius* hath represented him. In his second Book to *Autolycus*, after he hath said that the Prophets had spoken consonantly of the Things past, and those that were present, so that there could be no Reason to doubt, but that the Things future would also happen in their time, he proceeds thus: " And first they have taught us with one Voice, that he made all Things of nothing. " ² For there was nothing Contemporary with God; but he being his own Place, wanting nothing, and * exist- ing before Ages, would make Man, that he might be known to him. He prepared a World for him. For he being created is indigent: But God not created wants nothing. God then having his own Word within him, begat him with his Wisdom, breathing him forth before all Things. He had this Word as the Mi-

¹ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 3. §. 6. Vide. Steph. Thef.

² p. 88.

* ὁ ὡς ἦν, extans.

“ nister of those Things which were created by him, and
 “ by him he made all Things. He is called the Principle,
 “ or Beginning, as being the *Author* and *Governour* of all
 “ Things made by him. He then being the *Spirit* of God,
 “ and the *Principle*, the *Wisdom*, the *Power* of the High-
 “ est, first told the Prophets, and by them spoke [to
 “ others] the Things concerning the Creation of the
 “ World, and all other Matters. For the Prophets were
 “ not when the World was made, but the *Wisdom* of
 “ God which is in him, and his *Holy Word*, which
 “ is always with him.” To this we must add another
 place of the same *Theophilus* in the same Book, where,
 after he has said that the Word is the Son of God, lest the
 Heathens should conceive something absurdly concerning
 the Son of God, he cautiously (in Imitation of *Athenagoras*,
 I suppose) subjoins an Explication of the Mystery in these
 Words: ¹ “ Not as the Poets and fabulous Writers say,
 “ the Sons of God are begotten of Coition, but as the
 “ Truth tells us, the Word always in the Father; for be-
 “ fore any Thing was made, he had this Counsellor, *
 “ his Mind and his Wisdom. And when he was pleased
 “ to make what he had consulted upon, he begat and
 “ brought forth this Word, the first-born of every Crea-
 “ ture; not being himself void of the Word, but after
 “ he had begotten the Word, always conversing with his
 “ Word, as the Holy Scriptures teach, and all the inspi-
 “ red Writers, of which St. *John* says, ² *In the beginning*
 “ *was the Word, and the Word was with God*; shewing, that
 “ at first God was alone, and the Word in him; he after-
 “ wards saith, *And the Word was God*; all Things were made
 “ by him, and without him was not any Thing made.”

2. In these Places, I confess, there is a certain Generation
 attributed to the Son by *Theophilus* something before the

¹ p. 100. * Dr. Whitby in translating this Place makes τῆτος
 a demonstrative, not a relative, and adds nimirum & ipsius without
 any Authority from the Original; in this the more inexcusable, because,
 he blamed the Bishop for a less Liberty taken in translating a Passage of
 Clemens Alexandr. and also because the Bishop himself has rendered it
 with more favour to his Adversaries than was necessary. ² St. *John's*
 Gosp. c. i. v. 1.

Creation of the World. But what Generation did he mean? Not that of a Person not actually existing before; but with *Athenagoras*, *The Generation of one who was not made*, who was Eternally with God, and therefore not a true and proper Generation (such as that, by which a Thing, or Person is made, or produced) but one figuratively and metaphorically so called. God the Father (says he) did sometime beget that very Word, which he had in him his Counsellor from Eternity, whom he yet hath and Eternally will have as being always in him. But how did he beget him? By breathing him forth, as in the former Place, or bringing him forth, as in the latter, before the Creation. What can this be, I pray, except the operative Procession before spoken of by *Athenagoras*? After the same manner, he says, God the Father brought forth his Wisdom, *i. e.* the Holy Spirit, when he was about to make the World. Namely, the Son and Holy Spirit is that full and unspeakable Ministry (as ¹ *Irenaeus*, who was near *Theophilus*) which always was with God the Father, though he wanted not Angels, or any other Ministry for the making those Things which were made. These then, when he pleased, he sent forth in Operation for the Creation of the Universe. But let us more accurately examine the Words of *Theophilus* in both the cited Places, that having made out of them a certain Scheme of his Doctrine concerning the Word, or Son of God, we may make it manifest to all Men, that the venerable Patriarch was truly Catholic in this Point. First, *Theophilus* teaches, that the Word co-existed with the Father from all Eternity. The Words of the former Place are express: *His Holy Word, which was with him always*. And in the latter Place, *Theophilus* saith, that the Word before that Production, of which he speaks, and even from Eternity, was a Counsellor to God the Father. Nay, he expressly takes care (as *Athenagoras* had done) that no Heathen should attribute a Beginning to the Son of God, as to some Son of *Jove*, or conceive of

¹ Iren. lib. 4. c. 17.

him otherwise, than as the Word of God always existing in him.

3. *Secondly*, It is plain *Theophilus* thought the Word, as he was Eternally in and with God the Father, to be a living and subsisting Word, a Person, and that distinct from God the Father. For when he saith in the latter Place, that the Word, before he was brought forth, and consequently from Eternity, was God the Father's Counsellor, he clearly denotes, not a Thing, if we may so speak, but a Person in God. Now it is plain, that he who is a Counsellor to another, must be distinct from him, whose Counsellor he is. Again, what can be more clear than those Words of the former Place, in which *Theophilus* saith, that the Word and Holy Spirit are always with the Father? For it is a true Rule, which we have from *Athanasius* ¹: *What is Co-existent, is not Co-existent with it self, but another.* *Lastly*, It amounts to the same, that God the Father is said to converse with the Word always (as well before as after the Prolation) for Conversation must at least imply two. I cannot but wonder at the Stupidity or Unhappiness of *Petavius*, to think *Theophilus* believed the Word, which he says was Eternally in God, to be the same with God the Father, *i. e.* the very Essence of the Father, or his Mind, or Intellect, from which it is that he is called *Logicos*, or Rational. What I have before noted upon *Athenagoras* and *Tatian* is sufficient Refutation of this Dream. But the *Jesuit* concludes, that the Word was not a Person distinct from God the Father before he was brought forth, but his very Mind, according to *Theophilus*, because he says, that the Word then was internal, within the Father. This is a frivolous Argument, and unworthy so great a Man, but yet it is *Petavius's* perpetual Sophism. If he finds in any Antient, that the Word is said to be in God, in his Heart, Breast, Bowels, before the Creation, nothing will do but that Author must be of Opinion, that the Word is the same as God the Father, his very Mind and Reason, whence it is that he is called Rational. But as for

¹ Tom. 1. p. 1. Crat. 1. contra Arianos.

Theophilus, he is easily cleared of this Suspicion. He had said in the former Place, that before the Creation, when none of those Things were, which now are, God was his own Place : Now the Consequence of this is, that whatsoever co-existed with God, must be said to be in God, &c. Hence a little after describing the co-eternal Existence of the Word with God the Father, he says, that God before the Creation, and therefore eternally, had the Word within him ; which in the latter Place he expresses by the Words *perpetual Existence*, and being in the Heart of God. Tho' I will not deny that *Theophilus* has also an Eye to the Comparison between the Divine and Humane Word, which being first conceived, and included in the Mind, is afterwards brought forth by Speech ; a Comparison that holds in some particulars, but fails in more. Now *Theophilus* chiefly intended to signify by this way of speaking what one of his Predecessors *Ignatius* did, when he said, that the Son was with the Father before Ages, and the same as the Apostle St. *John*, who expresses the Existence of the Word with the Father, before the Creation in these Words : *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.* Yea *Theophilus* himself expressly cites those Words of the Evangelist, to prove what he had said, namely, that the Word was from Eternity in the Heart of God, and existent. Now he that says the Word is in the Heart of God the Father, in this sufficiently distinguishes the Word from the Heart or Mind of God the Father ; so that even from this one may conclude, that *Theophilus* did not think the Word the very Mind of the Father, from which he is called Rational, as *Petavius* dreamt ; but the Word proceeding from the Divine Mind, yet never disjoined, or separated from it, which indeed is the very Doctrine of Catholics at this time. But what Occasion for many Words in so clear a Case ? *Petavius*, who surmises of *Theophilus*, that he never thought the Word a distinct Person from God the Father, before his being brought forth, and that for this Reason, because he said that he then was in the Heart or Bowels of God ; the same *Petavius*, I say, might as well and as rationally have accused the venerable

Patriarch of the grossest *Sabellianism*, of believing that the Father and Son always were, and even now are the same Person. For *Theophilus* saith, that the Word is in, and exists in the Heart of the Father always. Now [*always*] is the same as through all time, and all time comprehends past, present, and future; therefore according to *Theophilus*, the Word, which is called the Son of God, as he was from Eternity, so he is now, and always will be in the Heart of God. But it is very plain *Theophilus* was no *Sabellian*. Yea, he so manifestly, and that often, distinguish'd the Word from God the Father, that *Petavius* takes occasion from it to accuse him of *Arianism*, as though, forsooth, he had made too great a Distance between God the Father, and the Word. These Things will more clearly appear out of what I shall observe further from the Places of *Theophilus* which are before us.

4. *Thirdly*, It is therefore diligently to be noted, that *Theophilus* manifestly teaches the Word to be altogether the same, who was in and with God the Father from Eternity, and who was afterwards begotten of him, when he was about to make the World. Upon this our Defence of *Theophilus* against *Petavius* chiefly turns. For the *Arians*, as well as the *Catholics*, confessed that there was a Word in God the Father from all Eternity: And this was the Point in Controversy between them, whether the Word, which is called the Son of God, and was incarnate for our Salvation, be the same Word, as was in God from all Eternity, or really another brought forth and made by that eternal Word, (as all created Things were), the *Arians* held the latter, the *Catholics* the former. Therefore if *Theophilus* held the internal and the produced Word to be two different Words, he was an *Arian*; if both of them to be the same, he is of our Side. Now *Petavius* saith, that *Theophilus* seems to have made two Words, the one internal in the Father, who was with him, and in him Eternally, and is his very Essence, his Mind and Intellect, by which it is that he is called Rational; the other produced, which God the Father brought forth as the Minister of his Works. But this is a mere Dream of the Jesuits, there is no token of it in *Theophilus*,

philus, nay, it is repugnant to his exprefs Words. For in the latter Place after he hath said, that God the Father had the Word in him eternally *his Counsellor*, he immediately adds, that this Word was brought forth; where the demonstrative Pronoun *this* manifestly respects that very Word spoken of before, *i. e.* the Word, which the Father had in himself eternally *his Counsellor*. Then when *Theophilus* expressly tells us, in the same Place, that by the Son of God is to be understood the Word which was always in the Heart of God, how is this consistent with what *Petavius* palms upon *Theophilus*, namely, that the Word, which is called the Son of God, is quite different from the internal Word of God. Here is a plain Contradiction between *Theophilus*, and his Interpreter *Petavius*. *Petavius* says, *Theophilus* thought the Word, or Son of God, by whom he made all Things, to be different from the Word, which was eternally within him: *Theophilus* himself expressly saith, that that Son of God is the very Word eternally existent in God. Lastly, In the former Place, after *Theophilus* had said, that the Word descended into the Prophets, and by them spoke concerning the Creation of the World, &c. He immediately adds: *For the Prophets were not when the World was created, but the Wisdom of God, which is in him, and his Holy Word, which is always with him.* Therefore according to *Theophilus*, the Word which descended into the Prophets, which without doubt was the Son of God, was the same Word, which was eternally with God the Father. *Petavius* in some sort to confirm his Fiction, observes that *Theophilus* understands these Words of St. *John* [*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God*] of the internal Word; but those [*and the Word was God, all Things were made by him*] of the produced Word. But he in vain from this infers, that *Theophilus* thought the one different from the other. For as St. *John* in both the Members manifestly treats of the same Word, so also *Theophilus* interprets them both of the same Word, with this difference only, that he understands these Words [*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God*] of the Word eternally

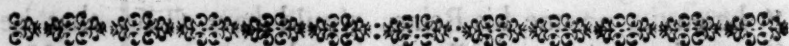
nally existent with God, and, as it were, quiescent in him. Those [*the Word was God, and all Things were made by him*] of the same, as proceeding from the Father to the Creation, or as *Athenagoras* * speaks of the Word in Operation.

5. *Fourthly*, Lastly, *Theophilus* clearly teaches by that Production, of which he speaks, that the Word was never divided, and separated from the Father, as though before the Production it existed in him, afterwards out of him, but eternally subsisted in the Father. For in the latter Place he saith, *That God the Father, after he had brought forth his Word, was not emptied, or void of the Word, but always conversed with his Word, as he eternally did.* And in the former Place, he expressly saith, that the Son of God is the Word, which always is in the Heart of God. From hence it follows that *Theophilus* did not understand any other Production or Generation in this place, than that operative one, by which God the Father exerted the Almighty Power of the Word, subsisting in him from Eternity to Eternity, in making the Creatures out of Nothing, and preserving them in their Being. For that Operation of the Son or Word, which proceeded *ad extra* (as the School speaks) when God the Father pleased, remains yet, and will never cease. This going forth of the Word from the Father *Athanasius* beautifully expresseth thus: “ God is
“ **Existence**, and not compounded, wherefore his Word is
“ Existence, and not compounded, but one and the only
“ begotten God, who proceeding from the Father, as from
“ a good Fountain, disposes and contains all Things. The
“ Cause, for which the Word, the Word of God entered
“ upon the Creation, is really miraculous, and informs
“ us of it self, that it *could not be* otherwise than it was.
“ For the Nature of created Things, Things made out
“ of Nothing, is in it self, perishing, weak, and mortal.
“ But the God of all Things is bountiful, and in
“ Nature exceeding good, and therefore a Lover of Man.

* *Recollect what has been said before upon Athenagoras.* Vol. 1.
Tom. I. p. 40.

“ With a gracious God there can be no Envy. Hence
 “ he envies no one his Being, would have all be, that he
 “ may be Gracious to all. Seeing then every created Na-
 “ ture, in their proper Proportions, perishing and dissolu-
 “ ble, that the Universe should not be affected by it, and
 “ again be resolved into Non-existence, he therefore made
 “ all Things by his own eternal Word, and having given
 “ Existence to the Creation, left it not to its own un-
 “ stable Nature, lest it should fall back into Nothing ;
 “ but as a Gracious [God] governs and constitutes all
 “ Things by his own Word, who is also God ; that thus
 “ the World enlightened by the Conduct, Providence, and
 “ Disposition of the Word may remain firm.” Here you
 have the very Word [*proceeding*] which *Athenagoras* uses
 speaking of the same thing. *Theophilus* hath expressed the
 same Sense in the Words ἐκείνου and προέξειν, which re-
 ferred to God the Father, signify his sending forth the
 Word to create all Things. The Father breathed out, or
 sent forth the Word ; he [*the Word*] proceeded from the
 Father to the Creation. How did *Theophilus* say, that the
 Word, notwithstanding this Production, remains always
 in the Heart of the Father ? After the same manner *Atha-
 nasius* philosophizes of the same Thing. He in the same
 Place ¹ some time after hath these Words : *He indeed re-
 mains unmoveable with the Father, yet moves all Things by his
 own Order, as in particular seems good to his Father.* To
 conclude, as *Theophilus* called the Production of the Word
 his Generation, so have I promised to shew that *Athana-
 sius*, and other Catholic *Post-Nicene* Fathers called the Word
 the first-born for the same Reason : Nor do I doubt, by
 God’s Will, to perform that Promise. In the mean time,
 it may suffice to have said thus much towards the explaining
Theophilus’s Opinion of the Co-eternity of the Son. *

¹ p. 41. * After all the learned Pains our Author has taken to
 vindicate these Fathers from the charge of Arianism on one Hand, and
 Sabellianism on the other, it may justly seem strange that Dr. Clark, &c.
 should pay so little respect to his Reader, as generally to mention them
 with contempt, and without endeavouring to take off the Force of any
 part of the Argument, still to call them what they were injuriously cal-
 led before.



C H A P. VIII.

The Doctrine of St. Hippolytus the Martyr, and of Novatian, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity among the Works of Tertullian, concerning the Co-eternity of the Son, is declared.

WE now proceed briefly to explain the Opinion of St. *Hippolytus* the Martyr. *Sandius*¹ affirms he taught that the Son began to exist a little before the Creation. The Place which I suppose *Sandius* means, is in the Homily upon God three and one, and upon the Mystery of the Incarnation, against the Heresy of *Noetus*, where he discourses after this manner: ² “ When
 “ God was alone, and had nothing co-eval with him, he
 “ was pleased to make the World, he thought, he willed,
 “ he spoke it into Being, it was made immediately, it was
 “ perfected as he would have it. It is enough then for us
 “ to know only that there is nothing co-eval with God.
 “ There was nothing besides him. He alone was many.
 “ But he was not without Reason (the *Logos* or Word)
 “ Wisdom and Counsel. All Things were in him, he
 “ was all Things. He shewed his Word when he pleased,
 “ and as he pleased, at the Times he had appointed, by
 “ whom he made all Things. He maketh when he will,
 “ he perfecteth when he thinketh, he manifesteth when
 “ he speaketh, he sheweth forth Wisdom when he form-
 “ eth. He then made, as he pleased; for he was God.
 “ He begat the Word, the Head, the Counsellor, and
 “ Operator of the Creation, whereas this Word was in
 “ himself, and invisible to the created World, he made him

¹ Eneucl. Hist. lib. 1. p. 98.

² Bibl. Patr. Tom. 15. p. 622.

“ visible;

“ visible ; sending forth that Word which was before.
 “ and begetting Light of Light, he produced a Lord for
 “ the Creature, namely, his *Reason*, and makes him visible,
 “ who before was only visible to himself, and invisible to
 “ the World, that the World might see him who appear-
 “ ed, and be saved. And thus another assists him. When,
 “ I say, another, I do not say two Gods, but as Light of
 “ Light, Water from the Fountain, and a Ray from the
 “ Sun. For there is one Power from the Whole ; the
 “ Father is the Whole, from whence comes this Power,
 “ the Word. This is the Mind, or Sense, which cometh
 “ forth into the World, and is manifested the Son of God.
 “ All Things were made by him, and he alone begotten
 “ of the Father.”

2. I own that *Hippolytus* doth here attribute a certain Generation, immediately preceding the Creation, to the Word, or Son of God : But I deny that he speaks of a Generation properly so called, which was the Production of the Word ; so that, though it was not before, it then began to be. The whole of what *Hippolytus* says is repugnant to this Fancy. For he teaches that God was eternally so alone, as that he was many. How ? God the Father was never without Reason [*the Word*] and Wisdom, that is, the Son and Holy Spirit ; and therefore not without Counsel, for he had them both his Counsellors. I doubt not but this is the genuine Sense of those Words : *There was nothing besides him ; he, himself was many. Nor was he without Reason* (*Hippolytus's* Greek was no doubt λόγος) *without Wisdom ; without Counsel.* For the Title of the Homily declares, that *Hippolytus* acknowledged God to be one, and many, that is three, one in Essence, and three in Persons. *Hippolytus* also calls the third Person of the Trinity, Wisdom, imitating his Master *Irenæus*, and speaking according to the custom of those Times. Then *Hippolytus* saith that God begat the Word, which he had in himself eternally. How ? *He shewed him at the Times he had determined with himself. He produced a Lord for the Creature. Lastly, he made him visible to the World, who before was only known to himself.* Therefore the Generation *Hippolytus*

speaks of, is not the Creation of the Word, but that Declaration, Production and Manifestation of him, who co-existed eternally with the Father, which respected the Creatures. So that the Blessed Martyr intended the very same Thing, as we have before shewn that *Athenagoras* did.

3. The Words of the Place cited persuade us to interpret it after this manner, but the other Writings of *Hippolytus*, in which he very clearly declares the co-eternal Existence of the Son with the Father, force us upon it. So in his little Pieces ¹ against *Bero and Helice* (which we have defended against the Cavils of *Sandius* and others) he attributes the same Divine Nature to the Son, and the same Properties, which are in the Father, namely, that he is ** without Beginning, Unmade, Infinite, Eternal, and Incomprehensible*. *Hippolytus* then thought that the Son as well as the Father was *Eternal*, and *without Beginning*.

4. Moreover there is a little Book now extant under the name of *Hippolytus*, concerning the end of the World, Anti-christ, and the second coming of Christ; which, if genuine, manifestly shews his Orthodoxy in this Article. And indeed *Jerome* ² expressly witnesseth that *Hippolytus* had wrote concerning Anti-christ, and the Resurrection. We have also the Testimony of *Photius* for it, ³ in the two hundred and second Book, where he had mentioned and censured the Interpretation of *Daniel* from *Hippolytus*, he subjoins: *We have also another Book of his concerning Christ and Anti-christ, in which the same Style is remarkable, and the Notion simple and antique*. Notwithstanding there are some learned Moderns who confidently enough reject it, but in my Mind upon very slender Grounds, or rather such as, if truly weighed, are against them. (1.) The Style is not such as they would have, and the Book begins with *ἐν τῷ γὰρ*. An Exception which *Labbe* ⁴ justly derides. But, besides that the Learned in this way well know that it is in vain to expect great Politeness from all the

¹ Apud Anastasium Biblioth. in Collect. fragm. 60. p. 228.

^{*} Ἀναρχία, ἀγεννησία, ἀίδιονος.

² Hieronym. Catal. c. 61.

³ Phot. Cod. 202. p. 526. ⁴ Labbe de Script. Eccl. 471.

Greek Ecclesiastical Writers, *Photius*,¹ who without doubt had read his Works, has expressly told us, *that his Style had not an elegant turn*. And in another Place he speaks thus of it: *He is really a disgrace to the Rules of Eloquence*. Another thing that displeases these Censors is, that he has many vain Conjectures about the Birth and Life of Anti-christ; namely, that he would not be a Man, but a Devil, in Humane Shape. But who does not know that the Writers of that Age taught many absurd Things about that obscure Matter? And *Photius* expressly testifies of *Hippolytus* in his Interpretation of *Daniel*, where he speaks of Anti-christ, that he recites many Things in the antique Way, not in that exact one that came in afterwards. Nay, of this very Piece, intitled, *concerning Anti-christ*, he says, as we have heard before, that the Notions are Rough and Antique. Besides, it was a current Opinion in the antient Church; that Anti-christ was to be conceived of an evil Spirit. The great St. *Martin*² speaks of it with great Assurance. So does the Author of a Treatise concerning Anti-christ among *Austin's* Works: Thus he writes of his Conception: "The Devil shall enter into the Womb of his Mother; shall fill, encompass, overshadow, inwardly and outwardly possess her." *Irenaeus*³ (whose Scholar it is said *Hippolytus* was) delivers the same Notion. "He [*Anti-christ*] having all the Power of the Devil, shall come, not as a just King, nor as a lawful one in the Subjection of God, but Impious, Unjust, and Lawless, as an Apostate, Unrighteous, and a Murderer, as a Thief, and the Sum total of devilish Apostasy." These Things therefore do greatly confirm it to be genuine. Lastly, they object against him, that he affirms the Souls of Men eternal, which was *Origen's* Fiction. From this I borrow no ordinary Argument to prove *Hippolytus* the real Author. For *Origen*, as *Jerome* says,⁴ was some time *Hippolytus's* Scholar; who also says that *Hippolytus* signifies in a certain Homily, that *he spake in the Church in the presence of Origen*.

¹ Phot. Cod. 121. p. 302.² Sulpitius Severus Dial. 2. c. 16.³ Iren. lib. 5. c. 25. p. 474.⁴ Catal. Script. c. 72.

No wonder then if they had some Sentiments in common. But the Antient Ecclesiastical Writers have with great consent told that *Hippolytus* was Scholar to *Clemens Alexandria*. Now *Clemens* is found to be a Favourite of the Platonic Decree concerning the Pre-existence of Souls, as *Huetius* ¹ also has observed. From this *Clement*, *Hippolytus* and *Origen*, both of them his Scholars, though *Hippolytus* the Senior, had this Opinion. In short, all Things in the Book concerning Anti-christ do so well agree to *Hippolytus*, that if the Title said nothing of the Matter, the more discerning Men would take it to be his.

5. Let us now hear a very plain Testimony for the Son's Eternity out of it. *Hippolytus* introduces the Saints in the last Judgment, thus speaking to the Lord Christ. " Tremendous [Lord], ² When saw we thee naked, and cloathed thee? Immortal, When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? Gracious, When saw we thee infirm, or in prison, and visited thee. Thou art the eternally existent Being, thou ^{*} art without beginning, as is the Father, and co-eternal with the Spirit. Thou art he, who made all Things out of Nothing." Here you see that *Hippolytus* says as well of the Son, as of the Father, that he is without beginning; as Christ is also said to be without beginning in the Fragments in *Anastasius*, and by *Clement* of *Alexandria* *Hippolytus*'s Master. You may see there also the entire and perfect Trinity described, the three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost co-existing Eternally. It is manifest then, that *Hippolytus*, how much so ever out of the way in other respects, was free from the *Arian* Errors.

6. Of all the *Ante-Nicene* Writers we have named, who seemingly denied the Eternity of the Son, but really did not, the only one remaining is *Novatian*, or the Author of a Book concerning the Trinity, among the Works of *Tertullian*. There is no Occasion for being at much Pains about an Author of so low a Character in the Church. Let us hear however what he has wrote upon this Matter

¹ Strom. 1, 3. ² Bibl. Patr. Tom. 12. p. 605. * Συμάρχων
 & Συυαίσιος.

in his Book, *Ch. xxxi.* There then, after he had spoken of God the Father, he subjoins these Words concerning the Son of God : " Of whom [*God the Father*] the Son the Word was born, when he pleased, by whom is not understood the Sound of the beaten Air, or the Tone of a Voice expressed from within, but the Substance of a Power brought forth of God is acknowledged. The Secrets of whose Holy and Divine Nativity neither hath the Apostle learned, nor the Prophet discovered, nor the Angel, nor the Creature known. They are known to the Son alone, who knows the Father's Secrets. He therefore, being begotten of the Father, is always in the Father. But I so say [*always*], as to prove, not that he was unbegotten, but begotten. Now he that was before all Time, must be said always to have been in the Father. For no Time can be assigned him, who was before him. For he was always in the Father, otherwise the Father was not always the Father. And he is also before him ; for it is necessary he should be before, as he is Father. It is necessary that he who has or knows no Original should be before him who hath one. A little after are these Words : " He then proceeded from the Father, when he pleased ; and he who was in the Father, proceeded from the Father : And he who was in the Father, because he was *of* or from the Father, was afterwards with the Father, because *of* or from the Father ; namely, that Divine Substance, whose Name is the Word, by whom all Things were made, and without whom was nothing made." This Author, whoever he was, speaks very perplexedly ; but yet plainly says such Things, as shew him to have been of the same Opinion with the Writers I have before-mentioned.

7. He says the Son had some beginning. But first he calls that Nativity or Beginning a Procession (as *Athenagoras* does), and the Procession of him, who was in the Father, before he proceeded from him ; further, the Procession of him, who was always so in the Father, as that he

was always to be called Father, and therefore the Son always Son. The Words are clear : *He therefore, being begotten of the Father, was always in the Father ; And : For he was always in the Father, otherwise the Father was not always the Father ; And : He who was in the Father, proceeded from the Father.* The Proceſſion therefore, of which this Author ſpeaks, hinders not but that the Father was always Father, even before that Proceſſion ; and therefore the Son always Son ; now the Father and Son neceſſarily make two Perſons. Again, he expreſſly ſays, *That the Son is before all time ;* as a little after in the ſame Chapter : *Who (ſays he) had the Principle of his Nativity before all time, from him who hath no Original.* Now this Author did not underſtand by time, that Succeſſion of Moments, which began with, and is meaſured by the Motion of Heavenly Luminaries ; nor did he only intend, that the Son was before all time, becauſe he proceeded from the Father before every Creature, and therefore before the Sun and Moon, and other ethereal Lights ; but when he ſays that the Son was before all time, he aſcribes to him a Duration without beginning or end. For in this Senſe he aſſerts, that the Son was before all time, as he was always in the Father, even before his Proceſſion from him ; and that ſo, as that the Father was then and always Father, and therefore the Son, &c. as was obſerved juſt now. Upon which Account, (*N. B.*) he does not ſay, that the Son proceeded from the Father before all time, but was in the Father. For he places the Proceſſion, he ſpeaks of, in time ; but the Exiſtence of the Son before all time. But, you'll ſay, he affirms the Son to have a Principle of Nativity before all time, and he calls the Proceſſion of the Son his Nativity. I anſwer ; This Author, almoſt every where an Imitator of *Tertullian*, ſeems, as well as he, to have made two Proceſſions of the Son, as God ; one, by which he exiſted in God the Father, and from him Eternally, as the co-eternal Off-ſpring of the eternal Mind ; the other, by which he proceeded from God the Father, when he pleaſed, to the Creation of the World ; this our Author calls his Proceſſion, as *Tertullian* had done before him. For
though

though he says the Son was born after a sort, by Reason of his Proceſſion; yet he acknowledgeth another, prior, true, proper, and even eternal Nativity of the Son. This I gather from thoſe Words: *He therefore, being begotten of the Father, was always in the Father.* Now I ſay [always] to ſhew that he was not unborn, but born. And: *He was always in the Father, otherwiſe the Father was not always Father.* But he ſays that the Son was always in the Father in this Senſe (as was obſerved before) as he was in the Father before the Proceſſion, as is plain from the Words immediately following: *He that was in the Father, proceeded from the Father.* From which I infer, that the Son (according to our Author) was, even before his Proceſſion, in the Father always, born of the Father, and his Son. For when he ſays, that the Son was always in the Father, even before his Proceſſion, not as unbegotten, but begotten; he ſhews, that the Son was begotten even before his Proceſſion. And when he proves that the Son was always, even before his Proceſſion in the Father, for this Reason, that otherwiſe the Father would not be Father always, he manifeſtly ſignifies, that the Father was always Father, even before the Proceſſion of the Son, which could not be without a Son born of him. The Author ſeems to teach the ſame Doctrine alſo a little after in the ſame Chapter, where he writes thus: “Whatſoever the Son is, he is not
“ of himſelf, becauſe not unborn, but of his Father, be-
“ cauſe begotten; and that whether he be the Word, or
“ the Power, or Wiſdom, or Light, or the Son.” The Senſe is: The Son of God, under what Notion ſoever conceived, is of God the Father, and begotten of him; and therefore begotten of the Father, not only as he is the Word of God, namely, a Word vocally pronounced in the beginning of the World, (as the Author elſewhere interprets him, and we ſhall ſee by and bye), but as he is the Wiſdom of God, and Eternal. Now, he ſays, that the Son had the Principle of the former Nativity from God before all time; but not ſo of the latter. Conſult what we have ſaid hereafter upon *Tertullian*. But thoſe Words, *That the Father is before him,* ſeem to contradict theſe.

these. But there the Author understands a Precedence of Origination, not of Time. Which he also plainly signifies, when he subjoins: *For it is necessary he should be before, as Father; for he who knows no Original, must be before him who has an Original.* Pamelius makes a good Note upon these Words: "From which it is manifest, that when he says the Father precedes, is prior, and goes before, he only understands (as he subjoins) as he is Father." And thus *Petavius* himself interprets *Novatian*.

8. But I ingenuously confess, that this Passage of the Author may be expounded otherwise, namely, so as that the Procession, he speaks of, may be understood of the Son's Eternal Nativity of the Father, which Exposition Pamelius and others follow. But according to this Interpretation, when the Son is said to be born of the Father, when he would, that Will of the Father's must be understood to be Eternal. And the Words, *He therefore being begotten of the Father, is always in the Father, &c.* are to be understood thus: Though he was begotten of the Father, he is Co-eternal with him, yet not so Co-eternal as to be unborn, as the Father; but he takes his Original from the Father, upon which Account the Father precedes him, and is before him; for he who begets is in our Reason and Conception prior to him who is begotten by him. Lastly, Those Words, *He, who was in the Father, proceeded from him,* are thus to be explained: He who proceeded from the Father, is in Reason to be conceived to be in the Father, before he proceeded from him, though as he was Eternally in the Father, so from Eternity he proceeded from him. The former Interpretation is to me the better, for other Reasons, and this especially, that it is more conformable to *Tertullian's* Sense, which this Author generally expresses. But after what manner soever you expound the Procession, since the Author expressly teaches, that the Son was always in the Father, before all time that can be assigned or conceived, and that so that the Father was always Father, and he holds it absurd, that the Father

* De Trin. lib. 2. c. 2. §. 17. and lib. 6. c. 11. §. 11.

should not be always Father, it is certain he was very far from the *Arian* Blasphemy concerning the Son of God, namely, there was a time when he was not.

9. To make this clearer still, it is chiefly to be observed, that this Author expressly says, that the Son so proceeded from the Father, as that both before and after his Procession he was equally in the Father. See the very Words: *He therefore proceeded from the Father when the Father would, &c.* Where, (1.) it is observable, how the Author proves the Son to have been in the Father, and even to have been eternally, as well before as after the Procession he speaks of. *He was in the Father* (says he) *because of the Father; and he was with the Father afterwards, because he proceeded from the Father.* He Reasons thus: Whatsoever is of God, is Co-eternal with God: As he was from Eternity in God, he shall remain to Eternity in him: For the Divine Essence and Nature is always the same and unchangeable. Whence also he proves above, Chap. xxiii. that the Son is not made, and eternally with God, because he proceeded from God. "If Christ (saith he) be only Man, how, says he, *I proceeded and came forth from God*; whereas it is manifest, that Man was made by God, did not proceed from him. But as Man did not proceed from God, so the Word of God did proceed from him, as it is written, *My Heart hath sent forth a good Word.* Which Word, because from God, is truly with God, and because not brought forth for no purpose, truly makes all Things." Here [*to proceed from God*], which he attributes to the Son is manifestly opposed to [*to be made*], which is proper to Man, and all other Creatures. Now that is made, which, though not Existent before, received Being from another. The Word therefore, which proceeded from the Father, always was (according to this Author) because he proceeded from the Father. After the same manner he proves that the Word is and eternally abides in the Father, because it is from him. *Because it is from God, says he, therefore it is truly with God.*

In a Word, this is the Sense of the Author : What was of and proceeded from God, cannot be made, but always was in God ; and what proceeded from God, always is, and will be in God : Or, whatsoever was of very God, and proceeded from him, was in very God ; but whatsoever was in very God, is and always will be in him. The Foundation of which Reasoning is, as I said before, the Eternity and Immutability of the Divine Nature. There is one other Sentence, which I would insist upon to my Reader, namely, *And which [Word] because not brought forth for no purpose, really makes all Things.* Where the Author seems to intend this, that the Word, which was always in God, was sometime brought forth by God, almost as the Humane Word, which being first conceived in the Mind, is afterwards uttered by the Tongue. But to what purpose was the Word of God brought forth ? Not to no purpose, says he, but that he might make all Things. Therefore that Divine Substance, whose Name is the Word, to speak with our Author, always was with God ; according to our Author * before he was brought forth of God by that Almighty Voice, that *Fiat*, by which the whole World was made. Neither was it then so brought forth from God, as that it does not always abide with him, and in him. These Things you will understand better, when we come to *Tertullian*, whose Ape our Author was. But to proceed. †

* But he was not the Word of God. † Sect. 2. cap. 10. n. 6. Bishop Bull says, Novatian ascribes to the Holy Spirit a Divine Eternity, which notwithstanding Dr. Whitby affirms to be an Eternity à parte post.





C H A P. IX.

The third Thesis is proposed concerning the Son's Co-eternity, in which the Doctrine of the Ante-Nicene Doctors in the four preceding Chapters is illustrated more largely by the Testimonies of the Catholic Doctors, who lived after the Rise of the Arian Heresy.

IN the fourth Chapter immediately preceding we have explained the Opinions of some *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, which seemed contrary to the received and approved Doctrine of the Primitive Church, concerning the Son's Co-eternity ; in this Chapter, to set them in a yet clearer Light, we propose to demonstrate this *Thesis* :

T H E S I S III.

SOME Catholic Doctors who lived since the Rise of *Arianism* and bravely opposed it, have not rejected the Opinion of the Primitive Fathers last mentioned, or rather the Way, in which they explained their Opinion. For they acknowledged the Progression of the Word, which was always with the Father, from the Father, (which some of them also called a Condescension) in order to make all Things, and have confessed that with respect to that Progression, it is said in Holy Scripture that the Word was, as it were, born of God the Father, and the First-born of every Creature.

2. This *Thesis* is plainly confirmed from the Anathematism of the Creed of the *Nicene* Council, in which the Holy Fathers condemn the *Arians*, who teach thus concerning the Son of God ; There was a time when he was

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not,

not, and he was not before he was begotten. To confess the Truth ingenuously, I have often wondered what the *Arians* meant by that saying, *The Son was not before he was born*. It is plain it must not be expounded of his Birth of the Blessed Virgin. For the *Arians* never denied that he was before *Mary*; yea, they always freely confessed, that he was before the World was made. Therefore they speak of the Son's Nativity, which was before the Creation of the Universe. But what then is the Sense of this saying: *The Son was not, or did not exist, before he was born of the Father, before the Creation*? Indeed I'm in no doubt, but that Saying of the *Arians* was opposed to the Doctrine of those Catholics, who taught, that the Son a little before the Creation came forth after an inexplicable manner, from the Father to make all Things; and in respect of this Progression is in Scripture called the Son of God, and the First-born; but that he did not then begin to be, and always existed with the Father as his Word, and the co-eternal Off-spring of the Father's Mind. When many of the Fathers, present at the *Nicene Council*, very fondly embraced this Exposition of the Doctrine; and the rest well knew that it had a Catholic Sense, they all jointly condemned the *Arians* that rejected it.

3. *Ensebius* indeed in his Epistle to his Church, towards the end, brings that Interpretation, I have rejected, as *his own*, and another of *Constantine's*. "Moreover, says he, "to anathematize that saying, *He was not before he was born*, was thought reasonable, because all confessed him "to be the Son of God before he was born according to "the Flesh; and our most religious King proved it, that "he was before all Ages according to his Divine Generation; for as much as he existed potentially in the unbegotten Father, before he was actually begotten, the Father being always Father, always King and Saviour, always potentially all Things, always standing in the same Habitudo and Relation." But these Words seem to be

¹ Theod. E. H. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 40. This whole Paragraph is neither in Socrates nor Epiphanius.

supposititious, an Interpolation of the Epistle by an *Arian* Impostor. For first, this whole Period is wanting in *Socrates*, an Historian of very good Credit, and more Antient than *Theodoret*; neither is it in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. And then, whereas two Interpretations of the *Nicene Creed* are delivered, both are very absurd, silly, and unbecoming *Eusebius*. But the latter Interpretation, (which he gives us as *Constantine's*, with his tacit Approbation), namely, that the Son was in the Father potentially, before he was of the Father actually, is not only silly, but also Heretical, and utterly destroys the Son's Eternity. For all Creatures were potentially in God before they were actually produced by him, but they were not therefore Eternal. But it is clear from all his Writings, that *Eusebius*, who was very tenacious of *Origen's* Doctrine, always owned the actual eternal Subsistence of the Son of God. Upon this Account *Socrates* speaks so boldly of *Eusebius's* Accusers: “¹ Nor can they shew that *Eusebius* attributed to the Son of God a beginning of Subsistence, though they find him using the Words of the Dispensation in his Books, not in a strict and proper Sense, but *catarchestically*.” In which Words also *Socrates* discovers a considerable Cause, why, though *Eusebius* does otherwise every where in his Writings acknowledge the true and eternal Divinity of the Son, he is by most esteemed an *Arian*: Namely, because all those Things, which belong to the Dispensation of the Son, (I add, and his Subordination to the Father as his Author and Principle), are so urged by him against the *Sabellians*, (against whom he was very sharp), are so often tediously repeated and inculcated, that he seems to have fall'n into the contrary Impiety, even *Arianism*, from which however he was far removed. Whoever will read *Eusebius's* Works with Exactness and Impartiality, will confess this to be true, and by it be able easily to answer all the Arguments, which *Petavius*² hath amassed to prove him an *Arian*. It is upon this Account that *Eusebius* in his Apologetic, which he sent to all Or-

¹ Socrates. lib. 2. c. 21. p. 88. ² De Trin. lib. 1. c. 11.

thodox Bishops, openly professed that, *If he had said; or wrote any Thing, ever so little favouring of Arianism, that he had said, or wrote it, not as being of that impious Opinion, but through a careless or unguarded Simplicity; namely, whilst he was wholly intent upon opposing Sabellianism.* ¹ But to return from this Digression; who in his Senses can believe that the Emperor *Constantine* establish'd this Interpretation by Reasons in the Synod, and therefore would have the Words of the *Anathema* understood in that Sense? 'Tis certain the Synod could have done nothing against the *Arians* with their *Anathema*, if they had suffered the Words of it to be so subscribed and understood. Nay, the Fathers had directly turned *Arians*, if they had admitted this Sense, namely, that the Son of God did not exist from Eternity, actually, but potentially. ² Neither had the Consubstantiality establish'd by the Fathers done any Service to the Catholic Cause, if the true Divinity of the Son could consist without his Eternity. Some one may say, perhaps, that *Constantine* in favour of the *Arian* Bishops who were at the Council, did indeed contend for this Sense, and even subscribed the *Anathema* thus explained; but that a much greater part of the Synod was against it, and constantly defended the Catholic Sense. But this Device is contrary to the express Testimony of *Eusebius*, ³ who says, *That the Bishops of the Synod were made unanimous, and of one Opinion in all the controverted Points by Constantine's Means*, that is, that they embraced the same Sense in all Things, in Profession at least. Lastly, Whosoever read the precedent Words in the Epistle of *Eusebius* attentively, will easily see that that Paragraph is not of a Piece with them. For there *Eusebius* plainly appears to have said all he designed upon the whole *Anathematism*, and so to have finish'd his Explication of the *Nicene Creed*. Therefore whatsoever is added concerning the same *Anathematism*, even to the Conclusion of the Epistle, seems to be a patch of another sort. But nevertheless, that this Epistle had

¹ Gelaf. Cyzic. lib. 2. de Syn. Nicæn. c. 1. ² Theognis, a staunch Arian, embraced this Exposition, as Philostorgius says, lib. 2. c. 15. ³ Lib. 3. Vit. Constant. c. 13. p. 404.

the former part of this Paragraph in the times of *Athanasius*, is pretty plain from his Words concerning *Eusebius*, and that Epistle of his ; ¹ where after he had said, that *Eusebius* declared his Consent to the Consubstantiality by an Epistle to the *Cesareans*, and openly confessed that he and his Friends were mistaken before, he adds, *And in this he was unfortunate for, to clear himself, he accused the rest of the Arians, as meaning, that the Son was not, before his Birth, after the Flesh, when they wrote, that he was not before he was begotten.* In which Words any one may see that *Athanasius* glances at, and censures as absurd the Interpretation of *Eusebius* in the former part of this Paragraph. Which he does also in another place. ² But it will not be unreasonable, if we say, that *Athanasius* might be deceived by a spurious Copy, and *Theodore* followed such another afterwards. Though *Athanasius* never, either in the two places cited, or any where else mentions the latter heretical Interpretation, that I remember ; which however he would scarce have passed over in Silence, if he had met with it in *Eusebius's* Epistle. Let the Learned judge of this Matter. This is very certain, that, whether *Eusebius* himself, or any other Person wrote that Paragraph, both the Expositions in it, are quite different both from the *Arian* Opinion, *That the Son was not before he was born*, and that of the *Nicene* Fathers who anathematized the *Arians* for saying so.

4. Now that our Interpretation is true, we prove from the Epistle of the *Arian* Presbyters and Deacons to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, written before the Synod of *Nice*, extant in *Athanasius* and *Hilary*. ³ In this Epistle the *Arians* reckon those Heterodox, who say of the Son, *That he existed before, and afterwards was begotten a Son.* Then they explain their own Opinion thus : “ God being the “ Author of all Things, is altogether alone without Beginning : But the Son begotten by the Father without “ time, being created and establish'd before Ages, was not

¹ Athan. Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 211. ² Athan. Vol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 727. ³ Ibid. p. 730. Hilarius de Trin. lib. 4. p. 36.

“ before he was begotten ; but being begotten before all
 “ Things without time, alone subsisted by the Father.
 “ For he is not Eternal, or Co-eternal, or unmade as the
 “ Father is ; nor co-existent with the Father, nor a relate,
 “ as some say, (if the one is, the other must be), intro-
 “ ducing two unmade Principles ; but as the Unite or
 “ Principle of all Things, so is God before all Things,
 “ and therefore before the Son.” Here you see that say-
 ing of the Son of God which the *Nicene* Fathers con-
 demned, *He was not before he was born*, expressly delivered
 and asserted by the *Arians*, the same, who confessed in the
 same Breath that the Son of God was begotten and created
 before Ages ; and that against those who said, *That he*
who existed before, was afterwards born a Son, i. e. who in-
 deed attributed to the Son of God a certain Nativity im-
 mediately before the Creation, yet denied that he then first
 began to exist, and strenuously contended that he was and
 existed with his Father from Eternity. ¹

5. There are in the great *Bibliotheca* of the Fathers some
 Discourses ascribed to *Zeno*, the Bishop of *Verona*, who is
 commonly said to have suffered Martyrdom under *Gallie-*
nus about the Year 260. But the Learned are generally
 of Opinion now, and the Thing it self shews it, that
 they were wrote after the Synod of *Nice*. At this time
 certain learned Men assert, and with good Reason, that
Zeno flourish'd. ² They therefore think he was said to be
 a Martyr, because he behaved bravely in the grievous Per-
 secutions raised by the *Arians* under *Constantius*. Among
 his Discourses there are three Intitled, *Of the eternal Ge-*
neration of the Son ; and in the third of them the Author
 writes thus : “ My Brethren, Christ our Lord is un-
 “ doubtedly the Principle ; whom the Father, God of
 “ blessed Perpetuity as yet embraced, not without the
 “ Affection of a Son, but without the Distinction, be-
 “ fore all Ages after some manner concealed in himself in
 “ the indivisible Plenitude of his Spirit, and by a Consci-

¹ *Epistle of Arius to Euseb. Nicomed.* apud Theodor. E. H. lib. 1.
 c. 5. & Athanas. Orat. 1. contra Arianos. ² Labbe de Script. Eccl.
 p. 508, &c. Vol. 2.

"ousness of his, which I can't penetrate. But the inef-
 "fable Power, the incomprehensible Wisdom, the Word
 "breaks forth from the Region of his Heart, to set in
 "Order the Things devised. Omnipotence propagates
 "her self, God is born of God, having the whole of his
 "Father, but not derogating from him. It is Madness
 "to think of the manner, in which he was begotten, who
 "proceeded. For the Son accommodates himself to the
 "Nature of Things, lest the Mediocrity of this World
 "should not be able to sustain the Lord of eternal Maje-
 "sty." He speaks parallel to this in the first Discourse
 concerning the Son of God: "Whom the Father before
 "all Ages embraced in the profound Secret and invisible
 "Place of his own sacred Mind, by a Consciousness en-
 "tirely his own only, not without the Affection of a Son,
 "but without revealing him. Then that ineffable, in-
 "comprehensible Wisdom propagates Wisdom, and Om-
 "nipotence propagates Omnipotence. God is born of
 "God, the Only-begotten of the unbegotten, alone of
 "alone, whole of whole, true of true, perfect of perfect,
 "having the whole of the Father, and not derogating
 "from him; he proceeds to Nativity, who before his
 "Birth was in the Father." Lastly, He says in his se-
 cond Discourse thus: "Out of whose Mouth came the
 "noble Inhabitant of his Mind, the Only-begotten Son,
 "that the World, which was not, might be formed;
 "from thence being made visible, because he was to visit
 "Mankind, &c."

6. The Words cited plainly shew, that the Author was
 no *Arian*. For he says that the Son was born God of
 God, whole of whole, true of true, perfect of perfect,
 having the whole of the Father, &c. things an *Arian* can't
 bear seriously to affirm of the Son of God. Now the
 Author in these places plainly attributes a certain Genera-
 tion and Nativity to the Son, which then was, when it
 pleased God the Father to make all Things; nor does he
 less plainly acknowledge, that the same Son existed Eter-
 nally with the Father, as Son. For first, he says, that
 Christ is without doubt the Principle, than which with-

out doubt nothing is prior, or more antient.. Then he clearly teaches, that the Father had a Son in him before all Ages, and even embraced him as a Son, though known only to himself. Besides, he calls the Son the noble Inhabitant of his Father's Mind from Eternity, and as such, his Only-begotten Son. Moreover he expressly affirms, that the Son was before he was born, in the manner he describes. *He was, says he, before he was born*: The very Sentence, which the *Arians* denied, and for which the *Nicene* Fathers anathematized them. Further, the Author is so far from dreaming that the Son did first begin to exist by that Nativity of which he speaks, that he teaches, that he had no Accession by it; but that the Son while he was thus begotten, and proceeded, *Accommodated himself to the Nature of Things, lest the Mediocrity of the World should not be able to sustain the Lord of eternal Majesty*. Of this Humiliation of himself we shall hear *Athanasius* speaking hereafter. Lastly, The very Title of the Discourses, *Of the eternal Generation of the Son*, sufficiently declares the meaning of the Author, namely, that he thought Christ to have been from Eternity the Son of the Father, and begotten of him. For how should he have wrote of that he did not believe, the eternal Generation? But, you'll say, in what part of these Discourses has the Author spoke of the Son's eternal Generation? In the places just alledged; where, he says, that the Father had a Son in himself from Eternity, and embraced him as a Son, &c. He indeed insists more upon that Nativity, by which the Son proceeded from the Father to make all Things, because this Nativity was the Declaration and Manifestation of that first and eternal one, so that he could then first be truly said to be a Son born, by us Creatures. If any one censures those Words, *Sine discrimine amplectebatur*, as if the Author intended by them, that the Son, as he existed from Eternity with the Father, was not in Person distinct from the Father, (a Thought which *Petavius's* surmising Temper gave him), let him remember that what the Author expresses in the first cited place thus, he in the second explains by *Sine revelamine amplectebatur*. Therefore the Generation
which

which the Author describes in these places, is nothing else, as I said, but the Revelation of the Son, whom the Father kept to himself and with himself from Eternity, or his going out of, and proceeding from his Father (in Operation) to create the Things that were not, and to manifest himself to them when created, namely, to Angels and Men.

7. But, whosoever this Author was, we certainly know from other Grounds, that he acknowledged Christ in his higher Nature to be the co-eternal Son of the eternal Father, and that there never was any time, when the Son was not. For in the first Discourse concerning Generation, ¹ (any knowing Person may see from the Style that this Author is the same with the other before-cited), he expressly ascribes to the whole sacred Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit the same original Eternity. "This, says he, is our God, who hath disposed himself into God. This is the Father, who, remaining in his own State entire, hath communicated himself to him (the Son) wholly, that thus he might not derogate from himself. Lastly, The one rejoiceth in the other, having with the Plenitude of the Holy Spirit, one original Eternity." Who does not observe the Agreement of the Words and Phrases in this place, with those before-cited? There, *God is born of God*; Here, *God disposed himself into God*. There, *Having all the Father's, nothing derogating from the Father*; Here, *The Father communicated himself wholly to him (the Son) that he might not derogate from himself*. There is mention of the *Plenitude of the Spirit*, and here also. The same Person in his Discourse upon, [*when he had delivered the Kingdom to God, even the Father*], says, ² *That the Father and Son have one Possession of the original perpetual Kingdom, and one Substance of Co-eternity and Omnipotence*. Where it is again plain, *That the one Possession of the original perpetual Kingdom* signifies the same, almost in the same Words, as *the one original Eternity* in the former place cited from the first discourse of Generation. I know not why we may

¹ Bibl. Patr. Tom. 2. p. 367.

² p. 424.

not believe the same Author speaks of the Nativity of Christ in the first Discourse, where mentioning the erroneous Opinions concerning the Son of God, he places this the second ; ¹ “ Another Opinion, more modestly, but “ more sensibly hurtful, is that the Son of God is God, “ but not begotten of the Father by a Perpetuity of Excellence ; and that there was a time when he was not.” Where you see the common saying of the *Arians* of the Son of God, *There was a time when he was not*, expressly condemned.

8. *Constantine the Great* in his Epistle to the *Nicomediens* against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, which he wrote after the Synod of *Nice*, and in which he inveighs vehemently against the *Arians*, thus discourses concerning the Father and the Son : ² “ Say the Father is without beginning, “ the infinite Parent of the World it self ; but that the “ Son is the Will of the Father, which was neither assumed by any Thought, nor included by or in any exactly or curiously made Substance, in order to the Perfection of all his Works. Whosoever doth, or shall “ think thus, shall endure incessantly all kind of Punishment. But Christ, the Son of God, the Maker of all “ Things, the Giver of Immortality it self, was begotten, as far as we can find by our Faith ; was begotten ! “ rather proceeded himself, being always in the Father, to “ dispose the Things made by him.” Who does not see here the Opinion of the *Nicene* Fathers, of which we have treated before, catholically and excellently explained by *Constantine*, (that Opinion, which probably the *Arians* drew into the Patronage of their Heresy). This Explication of that Emperor, who had deserved very well of Christianity, (which he publish’d without doubt with the Advice of the Bishops, who were with him) *Petavius* ³ saucily enough, as his Custom is, calls a *poor starved Notion* : With whom, forsooth ! every Thing is poor and starved, which is not built upon the Foundation of Scholastical Divi-

¹ p. 426.

² *Gelas. de actis Concil. Nic. Art. 3.*

³ *De Trin.*

lib. 1. c. 5. n. 10. p. 31.

nity. That the greatest Christian Emperor of the World should be thus taken to Task by a modern Jesuit, for not speaking, as the Schoolmen do, though no where guilty of Novel Phrases, and expressing the same Sense, which all Catholics acknowledge ! Who can forbear Indignation against this Tyranny of the School ? I ask *Petavius* what he can justly blame in these Words of *Constantine*. Does it displease him that the excellent Emperor has called this Procession of the Son from the Father to make all Things, a Generation ? But he plainly signifies, that he does not speak of a Generation properly so called, but of a figurative and metaphorical one. For after he hath said that *he was begotten*, he immediately corrects these his Words thus : *Or rather proceeded himself* ; and expressly confesses, that the Son ever was in and with the Father. ¹ And in his Epistle to *Arius* in the same *Gelasius*, about the same time written, I believe, he expressly teaches, that God the Father begat the Son of himself, * *Eternally, and without Beginning*. Now it is to be observed, that this Explication of *Constantine* is exactly agreeable to that of *Athenagoras*, which we produced before. *Athenagoras* had said the Son was the First-born of the Father, that is, set forth first, before all the Creatures, a little before the World was made ; but he presently corrects himself thus, *Not as then first made, for the Word was always with the Father* ; but as proceeding from the Father to be the operative Power, and the Idea of all Things. *Constantine* explains himself exactly after the same manner ; and I doubt not, but that this was the very Exposition, which *Constantine* is said to have asserted in the *Nicene Synod*, in the Paragraph of *Eusebius's* Epistle, of which we have before treated largely ; although it is there represented very wrong.

9. But what if we should prove that *Athanasius* himself approved *Constantine's* poor starved Notion ? Will *Petavius* have any Thing to say to that great Vindicator and Defender of the Catholic Faith against the *Arians* ? I presume not. For he professes concerning *Atha-*

¹ Part 3.

* Ἀϊδιῶς καὶ ἀνάγκως.

nasius :

nasius : ¹ *That he had a more clear and exquisite Sense of the Doctrine of the Trinity given him by God, than the other Fathers.* Let us hear *Athanasius* then, a Person never enough to be commended. In his second Oration against the *Arians*, upon that place of the Apostle, where Christ is called *the First-born of every Creature*, which the Heretics alledged to confute the Doctrines of his Consubstantiality and Coeternity, he answers thus : ² “ But if he is called the “ First-born of the Creation, he is not so called, as being “ set upon a level with the Creatures, and being the first “ of them in time. For how then is he the Only-begotten ? But [*he is called so*] for his Condescension to the “ Creatures.” Again, a little after : ³ “ For he cannot “ be the Only-begotten, and the First-born, but in different Respects : So that he is called the Only-begotten, “ as generated of the Father ; and the First-born, as con- “ descending to the Creation, and making many Brethren. “ These two Words being almost opposites one to the “ other, one may justly say, that the Propriety of the “ Word Only-begotten does rather hold, when applied to “ the Word, because there is no other Word or Wisdom, “ but that this is the only true Son of God. For, (as is “ said before), he is called *The Only-begotten, who is in the “ Bosom of the Father*, not jointly with any other Cause, “ but absolutely and alone ; but the First-born on the “ other hand, hath the Cause of the Creation joined with “ him, as *St. Paul* hath added, saying, *That all Things “ were made by him* ; but if all the Creatures were made “ by him, he is different from the Creatures, and is not a “ Creature, but the Creator of the Creatures. He was “ not then called the First-born, because he was of the “ Father, but because the Creature was made by him. “ And as he was the Son before the Creation, by whom “ the Creation was made ; so before he was called the “ First-born of every Creature, he was nevertheless the “ Word with God, and the Word was God.” Here

¹ Petav. Præf. in Tom. 2. Dogm. Theolog. c. 3. n. 5. ² Vol. 1. Tom. 1. p. 529. ³ P. 530.

Athanasius plainly teaches, that the Son was the Word with God, and that he was eternally God, before he was made the First-born of every Creature; but he was called the First-born for his Condescension to the Creatures, because he descended from the Father to make them, and promoted the rational Creatures, which were made, to the Adoption of the Sons of God. Who now can be so dull as not to understand that the Divinity of *Athanasius* exactly agrees with that of the Antients above-cited? But if these Words seem to some not express enough, thus *Athanasius* expresseth himself sometime after: "For it is manifest to all, that he was not called the First-born, because of himself, as being a Creature; or, because he hath any Relation or Kindred in Essence, to every Creature; but because the Word, who in the beginning made the Creatures, condescended to the Creatures, that they should be made. For they could not have bore his Nature, the pure paternal Brightness; unless condescending to the Father's Love of Mankind, he had laid hold of them and brought them into Being. And again, Secondly, The Word condescending, the Creature is made a Son by him, that he, as is aforesaid, might in all Things be the First-born of it, both in the creating it, and bringing himself into the World for all Men."

10. I say that in these places of *Athanasius* is contained an exquisite and clear Explication of those Things, which *Athenagoras* and others cited above, have philosophized concerning the Nativity of the Word a little before the World was made. Now since *Athenagoras* hath handled this Matter with the greatest Clearness and Accuracy of all the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, I've therefore thought fit to compare his Expressions chiefly with those of *Athanasius*. (1.) *Athenagoras* called the Word the First-born of the Father, cautiously adding, that this is not so to be understood, as though the Word was something made, because he always existed with the Father. So *Athanasius* expressly cautions us, that, when the Word is in Scripture cal-

led the *First-born of every Creature*, it is not so to be understood, as though he was the first among the Creatures, or had such a kind of Essence as the Creatures: For he was the Word with God, and the Word God, before he was the First-born of every Creature, and even Eternally. (2.) *Athenagoras* called the Word the First-born of the Father, because of that Procession, by which he came forth from the Father, to be the Idea and operative Power of the Creation: So *Athanasius* understood the Word to be the First-born, *Because of his Condescension to the Creation*. Where indeed, the Procession of *Athenagoras*, and the Condescension of *Athanasius* mean the same, except that this more clearly expresses the Cause of that, which is in both Words signified. Moreover in a place above-cited, *Athanasius* as well as *Athenagoras* has used the Word [*Proceeding*]. Lastly, Those *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, whose Opinion I have been explaining in the four preceding Chapters, have commonly expounded the place of the Apostle, in which Christ is called the *First-born of every Creature*, concerning the Proceeding, as it were, of the Word from the Father to make all Things. The old *Latin* Interpreter seems to have followed this Explication, when he Paraphrases the Words of *Wisdom* concerning her self, [*I came out of the Mouth of the most High, and like a Cloud covered the Earth*], *I came out of the Mouth of the most High, the First-born before every Creature, I made an unfailing Light to arise in the Heavens*. I call this Interpretation paraphrastical, because these Words, [*the First-born before every Creature: I made an unfailing Light to arise in the Heavens*], are not in the *Greek* Text, or the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Versions. From this Paraphrase of the Author, (whose Version we allow to be very Antient, and the *Romish* Doctors contend is Authentic), it is plain the Interpreter thought that the Word or Son of God was here understood, and that the Word was therefore called the *First-born before every Creature*, because in the beginning he proceeded, as it were, out of the Mouth of God the Father to make all Things with that Almighty Voice [*Fiat*], which the Father is said to use in creating Light. Nor is it to be feared, if by *Wisdom* is here

here understood the Son of God, according to all the Antients, lest the Son should lose his Co-eternity, because he is often in the said Chapter said to be created or made. For as *Grotius* rightly observes, it is plain, that by the Word commonly translated [*created*] is here meant, [*produced into Light, or discovered*], namely, by Works. But this by the Way. Let us proceed with *Athanasius*.

11. He in the places alledged plainly says, that the Procession of the Word from the Father to make all Things, for which he is called the First-born of every Creature in Scripture, was a Condescension of his. He assigns the Cause of this Condescension, namely, that if the Word had not so humbled himself, the Creatures could not have sustained his Nature, his indiluted paternal Splendor, (that is, the Glory, which he had eternally with the Father, equal to the Father's). The Author of the Discourses ascribed to *Zeno Veronensis* has said the very same (as we saw just now) concerning that Nativity of the Word, which was precedent to the Creation, thus discoursing : *It is Madness to think of the manner in which he was begotten, who proceeded. For the Son accommodates himself to the Nature of Things, lest the Mediocrity of the World should not be able to bear the Lord of eternal Majesty.* Nor do I think that the learned *Eusebius* meant any Thing else, ¹ when he wrote thus : “ We should exceedingly admire
“ the invisible Word, the Creator and Adorner of all
“ Things, the Only-begotten of God ; whom the Maker of Universe, who is beyond and above all Being,
“ himself begat of himself, and appointed the Prince and
“ Governour of all. For whereas it was impossible that
“ the perishing Substance of Bodies, and the Nature of
“ rational Creatures just made, should approach the supreme God, because of the very great defect of their
“ Natures from his *supreme* (for he was unmade, beyond
“ and above all Things, inexplicable, inconceiveable, unapproachable, inhabiting the Light, which no Man can
“ come to, (as the Holy Scripture say) ; but that is pro-

¹ De Laud. Constant. c. 11. p. 424 and 425.

" duced out of nothing, widely distant, and far separated
 " from the unmade Nature), the infinitely Good, and
 " great God of all *probably* introduces a certain middle Di-
 " vine, All-powerful Virtue of the Only-begotten Word,
 " who enjoyed his Secrets exactly, and was within him,
 " as conversing the most intimately with the Father, very
 " meekly condescending, and after some sort conforming
 " himself to those who were left, or forsaken by the su-
 " preme Nature. For otherwise, it had neither been Pure
 " nor Holy for him who was beyond and above all to
 " concern himself with corruptible Matter and Body."
 The Word, which *Eusebius* here uses, and which we have translated [*condescends*], is equivalent to what is so translated in *Athanasius*, and the same Cause of the Condescension is assigned by both. But *Eusebius* calls the Word a middle Power between God and the Creatures: He does so, but not in it self considered, but upon Account of the Condescension of which he speaks. Nay, he expressly teaches, that the Power of the Word doth most perfectly and intimately converse with the Father, in this Humiliation, that he abides in him, and thoroughly knows the Mysteries of him who is ineffable: Just as *Athanasius* says, that the Word doth not so condescend, but that his indiluted, paternal Splendor abides always. Therefore the Observation of *Valesius*, (the same who has justly defended *Eusebius* against the Calumny of *Arianism*), namely, that these Words of *Eusebius* are very well refuted by *Athanasius*, proves a Mistake in that excellent Person. For *Athanasius* there refutes an Error of the *Arians*, or rather *Semi-Arians*, who taught that the very Nature of the Son was a middle Nature between God and the Creatures, different from the supreme Nature of God; and yet also absolutely unlike the other Creatures. Now this place, upon which *Valesius* made the Observation, sufficiently shews, that *Eusebius* abhorred this Error. But the Words of *Eusebius* ¹ in this Oration put the Matter out of Question, where very subtly philosophizing upon the Number *Three*, he says,

¹ Ch. 6. p. 510, 511.

that thereby is signified the Holy Trinity, namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, whose Nature is equal, alike uncreate, and without beginning. The Words are : " The Number *Three* first shewed Justice, teaching " Equality, as having the beginning, the middle, and end " equal. These Things are an Image of the mystical, holy, " and sovereign Trinity, which being of a Nature * with- " out beginning, and uncreate, hath in it the Seeds, Rea- " sons, and Causes of the Substance of all created Things." What can any Catholic say more express and effectual against *Arius*, and the other *Anti-Trinitarians*? In the same ¹ Oration he attributes to the Son of God in particular, an absolutely co-eternal Divine Empire with God the Father : " The Only-begotten Word of God, saith he, who reigns " with his Father from Ages that have no Beginning, to " Ages that have no Term or End." But that the Son of God, who existed eternally with his Father, of the same Nature, uncreated and without Beginning, did, when God the Father pleased, go forth from him to make and govern all Things ; that he did humble himself, and, as it were, temper his Power ; this Opinion, I say, *Athanasius* is so far from refuting, that he hath very plainly asserted and approved it (as I have cited him above). If *Petavius*, who would not be thought a Stranger in any Thing of the Fathers, had understood these Matters, he would never have lasht *Eusebius*, a very learned Man, and one who had deserved very well of the Catholic Church, because he called the Son of God a Mediator between God and the Creatures, and such like Words ; he would not have stiled him a stanch *Arian*, or with *Jerome* ² (whom *Valesius* hath ventured sharply to reprove for it), the Leader of the Heresy, as he frequently does in his Writings. Yea further, even *Alexander* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who first set up the Standard against the *Arians*, hath said the very same that *Eusebius* did, and in that Epistle too, which he wrote to *Alexander* the Bishop of *Constantinople*, ³ and

* "Αναρχος & ἀγέννητος.
& Script. Eusebii prope finem.
p. 16, 17.

¹ Ch. 2, p. 501. ² De vita

³ Theod. E. H. lib. 1. c. 4.

in which he very vehemently opposes the Blasphemy of *Arius*: "Not knowing, says he, rude and unexercised
 "Creatures! That there is a great Distance between the
 "unmade Father, and the Things made by him out of
 "Nothing, whether Rational or Irrational; between whom
 "the Only-begotten is a middle or mediating *Nature*, by
 "whom, God the Word, who is begotten of the Father
 "himself, the Father made all Things out of Nothing." Where, no doubt of it, *Alexander* intended the same as *Athanasius*, his Successor in the Chair; for in the same place a little afterwards he writes thus: "No one knows the
 "Father, but the Son; and know one knows the Son,
 "but the Father. We have learnt this Son, inconverti-
 "ble, unvariable, even as the Father, wanting nothing,
 "and perfect, like the Father, except in that he is not
 "unbegotten. For he is the exact Image of the Father,
 "and in nothing different from the Father." Surely these Words are so clear and express that they need no Commentators. He that wrote them could not mean that the Son of God was a middle or mediating Nature between God and the Creatures; in such a Sense as *Arius*, whom he here opposes.

12. Perhaps you'll ask me what that Condescension to make the Universe was, of which the Holy Fathers speak. And what if I should give you this plain Answer, that I don't know. I am not therefore at Liberty to despise this Notion of the venerable Fathers, as a vain Subtilty, (for their Modesty and Reverence of the Holy Mystery was such that they did not spin it out of their own Brain). Tell me what that Condescension of the Word or Son of God was, by which he went out from the Father, descended from Heaven, and was incarnate for us Men, and our Salvation, and I will endeavour to explain to you the other. So may we both go mad prying into the Mysteries God, and that with Eyes (as *Gregory Nazianzen* hath well said) not able to discern the Things that are under our Feet. Indeed I presume not to dive into

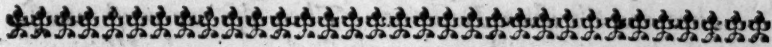
this Secret, (though methinks, I could say something upon it, which might be agreeable), and therefore return to *Athanasius*, who plainly attributes to the Son three Nativities. (1.) That, by which he existed as the Word eternal of and with the Father, being the co-eternal Off-spring of the Father's eternal Mind. This is the only true and proper Nativity, by which he is the Word of God, and God. *Athanasius* thought that he was called the Only-begotten in Scripture upon Account of this Nativity, and he also thought from that Name, that he derived the Beginning and Original of his Person from the Father. (2.) That, by which the Word went out from the Father, and condescended to make the Universe. Upon Account of this, *Athanasius* hath determined that the Word is called in Scripture the First-born of every Creature. From this Nativity there is no Accession to the Divine Person of the Word, because, as he says, it was an Humiliation and Condescension. (3.) That, by which the same Divine Person came out of the Bosom and Glory of the Father, and entred into the Womb of the Blessed Virgin. Therefore *the Word was made Flesh*, or born Man, that we Men might through him receive the *Adoption of Sons*. Take care, you despise not this Interpretation of the Great *Athanasius*, which will give you the best Key to the Meaning or Opinion of some Antients, whose Sayings the *Arians* heretofore very unskillfully drew in to the Patronage of their Heresy; and some modern Divines no less unskillfully (I venture to say so, though they think no Body wise but themselves) have accused of *Arianism*.

13. To conclude this Chapter, From all these Things it is manifest, that *Petavius* [†] hath vainly reflected upon a very good and (considering the times) a very learned Writer, *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, an Abbot, for Writing thus upon the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*: "What then are we to understand by those Words, [*The Lord said*], but the " Generation of the eternal Word, the Word Consubstantial with God, by whose Means both we and the

[†] De Trin. lib. 1. c. 5. §. 9.

“ Angels are rational. For the Father then actually begat
 “ the Word, truly and without a Voice born, and poten-
 “ tially containing all Things, when he created the Hea-
 “ ven and the Earth, made the Light, &c.” In these
 Words he confesses the Consubstantiality and Co-eternity
 of the Word, or Son of God, that he was from Eternity
 truly Born, and without a Voice (which he also does in
 very many places besides), and notwithstanding attributes
 to him a certain Generation immediately before the Crea-
 tion of the World, in respect of which he was said to be
 actually born of the Father, namely, because he then pro-
 ceeded from the Father, that he might be the operative
 Power of the Creation, and actually produce all those
 Things, which he potentially had in him from Eternity.
 Now why, by the leave of *Petavius*, might not he without
 Censure say, what the Fathers before the *Nicene Council*,
 and those after it, who had strenuously opposed *Arianism*,
 had said? That Writer, alas! (being well read in the
 Records of the Primitive Church), had in many Points
 freely asserted the antient Catholic Faith against the Novel
 Tenets of the degenerating *Romish Church*, and especially
 had dared to oppose the great Idol of the *Papists*, the Do-
 ctrine of *Transubstantiation* (which at that time, to the
 Admiration of learned and pious Men, began every where
 to prevail, and almost to be obtruded as Catholic). Hence
 that Odium of the *Romanists* against *Rupertus*; yea, for
 this Cause the Works of that excellent Writer had been
 condemned to eternal Darkness, unless some learned re-
 formed Divines had rescued them, much against the Inclina-
 tion of the *Papists*. *Bellarmino* ¹ indeed is so ingenuous
 as to confess it in these Words: *And this seems to be the*
Cause, says he, (namely, because the Doctrine of *Tran-*
substantiation is every where refuted in them), *why the*
Works of Rupertus Tuitiensis, in other respects, neither bad,
nor unlearned, have lain in Obscurity, without being read, or
esteemed, about 400 Years; for they have first begun to be
publish'd in our Days.

¹ De Script. Eccles.



C H A P. X.

The Examination of the Doctrine of Tertullian and Lactantius concludes this Section.

OF the *Ante-Nicene* Writers, who have been accus'd by some learned Men of denying the co-eternal Existence of God the Son with God the Father, I have yet omitted two, *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*; and since their Method seems peculiar, I have thought proper to speak of them in a distinct *Thesis*, as follows :

T H E S I S IV.

Tertullian indeed has in some places ventured to write expressly, That there was a time when the Son of God was not. But, (1.) it is plain, that Writer, otherwise Ingenious and Learned, fell off from the Catholic Church to Heresy; and it is very uncertain what Books he wrote when a Catholic, what when inclining to Heresy, and what when compleatly Heretical. (2.) Tertullian seems to have used the Arian Axiom in dispute with his Adversary, and to have played with the Word [Son]; so that when he seems to have absolutely denied the Eternity of the Son, he really meant no more, than the Fathers cited in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Chapters of this Section, namely, That the Divine Person called the Son of God, although he always existed with the Father, was then first declared the Son, when he proceeded from the Father to make all Things. It is certain the same Tertullian has in other places, and those not a few, philosophized concerning the Co-eternity in a truly Catholic manner, if we attend to the main of the Doctrine. As for Lactantius, who does also plainly attribute a Beginning of Existence to the Son of God, his Authority and Esteem in the Church

is but small; as being in a manner ignorant of the Scripture and Christian Doctrine. Then also we must necessarily determine, either that those places in the Writings of Lactantius, which seem to make against the Eternity of the Son, are depraved by some Manichee, or indeed that he himself was infected with a Heresy. And after all he hath elsewhere given us a more sound Opinion of the Eternity of the Word.

2. To begin with *Tertullian*, the place in which he gives us this absurd Opinion is this: “¹ Though God is a Father, and God is a Judge, he is not therefore a Father, and a Judge always, because always God. For he could neither be a Father before the Son, nor a Judge before the Offence. Now there was a time when there was no Offence to make the Lord a Judge, no Son to make him a Father.” Here *Bellarmino* (a learned Man of our own has lately imitated him) answers thus for *Tertullian*: “² That Son, of whom *Tertullian* speaks in his Book against *Hermogenes*, that he was not always; is not the Word of God, but the Son by Adoption, that is, any Holy Man, or Angel. For here he is not speaking of Christ, but of a rational Creature, which is External; and called God Father since the World began.” But nothing is more certain than that this Answer has nothing to do with the Sense of *Tertullian*. For besides that in the place cited, he speaks absolutely, and without any Limitation concerning the Son of God, and plainly denies that God was always a Father, he elsewhere interprets himself clearly in this very Book, thus speaking of the Son under the Name of *Wisdom*: “³ For if that which was within God, from him, and in him, was not without beginning, namely, his Wisdom, born and made since he began to think of Framing the World, much less can any Thing be without beginning, which is without God.” Here, I say, it is manifest, that

¹ Tertull. p. 234. ² Controv. Tom. 1. de Christo, lib. 1. c. 10.
³ p. 239.

Tertullian, while he wrote these Things, never thought of the adored Sons of God, Holy Angels and Men; but spake of that Son of God, who is called *Wisdom*, by whom he made all Things.

3. Others therefore ingenuously and roundly answer; that *Tertullian*, here, as in many other places, trusting too much to his own great Genius, plainly deviated from the Catholic Truth, and that it is not much to be regarded, what he taught, whose Heresy, as *Hilary* speaks, *destroyed the Authority of his approved Pieces*. We have fully proved indeed, that the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers before, and after the time of *Tertullian*, owned the Co-eternity of the Son. Therefore, if *Tertullian* did indeed deny the Eternity of the Son, he was Heterodox. Besides, ever after *Tertullian* had broached that absurd saying, *That there was a time when the Son of God was not*, the Fathers, who followed him, did in one Body oppose that Blasphemy, and propounded it in Terms in order to confute it in their Writings. We have shewn this of *Origen*, the *Dionysii* of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and *Pamphilus Martyr*. Moreover, the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity among the Works of *Tertullian*, though in all other respects, he generally imitates him, and follows his Judgment (which gave occasion to ascribe that Piece to *Tertullian*), plainly dissents from him in this Point. For whereas *Tertullian* plainly teaches, *That the Father was not always a Father*; he on the contrary plainly affirms, that the Son was always in the Father, lest the Father should not be always Father. This Answer may serve to silence the *Arians*, when they glory in the Authority of *Tertullian*. *Ferome*² indeed pressed with the Authority of *Tertullian*, thus Answers in one Word: *I say no more of Tertullian, than that he was out of the Church*.

4. In the mean time, I have another Answer to this Objection; I think *Tertullian* did not speak the Words cited as his Sentiment, and in earnest, but used them in the way of Dispute, as what would serve his purpose in

¹ Can. 5. in Matth.

² Adv. Helvidium, c. 9.

some sort against his Adversary. Those who are but a little acquainted with him, know 'tis his Custom to fetch Arguments for his Hypothesis from every Quarter, and those very often such, as he could not but know to be weak. I persuade my self this was the Case here. *Hermogenes* contended that Matter was Eternal, because otherwise God could not have been eternally Lord; there would not have been any Thing to obey him. *Tertullian* answered, that God was also in Scripture called Father, tho' he was not always a Father, but begat himself a Son from a certain Beginning. He therefore seems to have concluded the Son begotten from a certain Beginning, because he did not from Eternity proceed from the Father to make all Things, but after infinite Ages, when it was the Father's Pleasure; which Proceſſion some Doctors of that Age called a Generation. Now though *Tertullian* knew that this Proceſſion was not properly called a Generation or Production, (for the Son was with the Father from Eternity), yet to serve his Hypothesis, he concealed it. By the like Fallacy one may say of the Creator of all Things, *That the time was when he was not Creator*, understanding him under that Idea of Creator only. For God the Creator of all Things was then only denominated, and as it were made Creator, when he made all Things of nothing. Now there was a time when nothing was created, from which he could take the Denomination. But still, no Man that argues thus, is to be supposed to deny that God is absolutely Eternal, though this his Title is not so. Thus *Tertullian* argues here concerning the Word, who is also called the Son of God; *There was a time when the Son was not*, namely, as Son. For he thought the Word was in this especially declared the Son of God, that, at the Father's Pleasure, he proceeded from him, came out of the Womb of the paternal Mind, and was, as it were, born to make all Things. Now there was a time when the Word had not yet proceeded from God; but still it is from other places manifest, that *Tertullian* well knew, that the Word, called the Son of God, was always, and existed with the Father. *Tertullian's* Fallacy in this Argument is yet clearer from

from the other place of this Book a little before cited. There, he says, that Wisdom of God which was within God, from God, and in God before, had some time a Beginning. Here is a Riddle. For what is of God, and within God, is God ; but nothing is God, which is not Eternal, as *Tertullian* himself confesses elsewhere. How, I beseech you, could that have a Beginning afterwards, which was before in God ? To say that the Wisdom, called the Son of God, was potentially in God before the beginning he speaks of, is trifling. For so also were all created Things, which yet *Tertullian* so distinguishes from this Wisdom, as to say, that it always subsisted in God, but that they are and always were without him. Moreover he had said a little before in the same Chapter, that instead of that Matter, which *Hermogenes* made Eternal, his Wisdom was with God, as a Spirit subsisting in him, who only knew his Mind, and was his Counsellor, (which manifestly denotes the distinct Personality of God the Father, and his Wisdom), as equal to him, and of the same Condition or Nature with him : “ ‘ If Matter, says he, was necessary for God to make the World, as *Hermogenes* thought ; God had far more noble, more fit Matter, not to be found in the Speculations of the Philosophers, but understood in the Writings of the Prophets, namely, his Wisdom. This alone knew the Mind of the Lord, for, who knoweth the Mind of the Lord, or what is in him, except the Spirit of the Lord which is in him ? Now the Wisdom is the Spirit : This was his Counsellor, this the way of Understanding and Knowledge. Who would not rather set forth this as the Fountain and Original of all Things, this most excellent Matter not subjected to him, not in State or Substance different from, &c. ? ” *Tertullian* then says, that the Wisdom of God, which was always actually in God, was at that time born, and made, as it were, *when God began to think of making the World*, i. e. when, at the good Pleasure of the Father, he began to stir up, to exercise and

exert his Power and Force in the Creation ; or as *Athenagoras* hath it, when the uncreate and eternal Word (the same with the Wisdom of God, as we shall see hereafter by *Tertullian's* own Confession) came forth from God to be the Idea and operative Power of the Creation. *Tertullian* indeed explains the Mystery in gross, not to say impious Terms ; namely, as though there was some Agitation and Commotion in the Divine Nature before the Wisdom proceeded from it to make all Things. But it was his way, boldly to attribute corporeal Properties to God ; which has given Occasion to some learned Men, (I'm not of their Mind), to charge him with thinking God to be of a corporeal Nature. But no one should wonder that *Tertullian* speaks not so honourably of the Wisdom of God, as though it was agitated within God, before it proceeded from him to make all Things ; for in another place of this same Book he attributes to God in the Creation, Care and Toil, &c. When *Hermogenes* says, that God made the World only by his Presence with and Approach to Matter, *Tertullian* (less concerned for the Honour of God, than the Support of himself against his Adversary) thus answers :
 “ ¹ Don't so flatter God, as to make him produce so many and so great Substances by his Presence and Approach only, and not to have constituted them by his proper Strength. For thus *Jeremiah* sets it forth : God making the Earth by his Strength, preparing the World by his Understanding, stretched out the Heavens by his Wisdom, These are his Powers, labouring with these he made all Things. His Glory is the greater, if he laboured. Lastly, He rested from his Works the seventh Day. He did both [*laboured and rested*] after his manner.” Which manner if he had candidly and ingenuously explained, he had ruined his own Reasoning, and therefore he forbore. Now in another place he clearly explains the true Catholic Doctrine of God ; ² Nothing at all is difficult to God ; and again, The Power of God is the Will of God, and that only he can't do, which he doth not Will. Thus, when he says,

¹ P. 249.

² P. 505.

when God was about to make the World, his Wisdom was agitated in him, without doubt he meant, *after his manner*. For indeed the Labour and Toil which God had in making the Universe, as he says in the one place, is the very same with the Agitation of the Divine Wisdom, in order to dispose all Things, spoken of in the other.

5. The Truth of this Answer I will farther prove from some other places of *Tertullian*, in which he teaches that the Person of the Word, *Reason, Speech, Wisdom, and Son of God*, (for he gives the same Person all these Names) existed co-eternally with God the Father, and in him; and also that that Divine Person, when the Father pleased, proceeded from him to create the Universe, and because of that Procession was called *the Word or Son of God*. Before I cite these places, I must tell my Reader, that he is not to expect in them, the Orthodox Faith pure, sincere and irreprehensible. He will in the same place find the golden Tradition of the Church mixt with Dross. *Tertullian* holds the Foundation, but usually builds upon it Wood, Hay and Stubble. This premised, I proceed to the places. In the Book against *Praxeas* he confirms, that the Father is distinct from the Person of the Son by their Reasoning, who said it was thus written in the *Hebrew* in the beginning of *Genesis*: *In the beginning God made himself a Son*. But, though that be of little Force, he says there are other Arguments from that Disposition of God, which was before the Generation or Procession of the Son from the Father. “ Before all Things, says he, God was alone, he was to “ himself the World, a Place, and all Things; but he was “ alone, as there was nothing else but him extrinsic of “ him. Nor indeed was he then alone; for he had with “ him, what he had in him, namely, his Reason, or *Logos*. “ For God is Rational, and Reason was in him first, and “ so all Things were from him; which Reason is his “ Sense. The *Greeks* call it *Logos*, which we render *Sermo*, “ And therefore it is now in use with us, by a Simplicity “ of Interpretation, to say, that the *Sermo* or Word was

“ in the beginning with God, though it is certain the
 “ *Ratio* or Reason is held more antient, because God had
 “ a Word from the Beginning, but God was Rational
 “ before the Beginning; and because the Word it self
 “ consisting in Reason, shews that Reason to be prior,
 “ as its Substance. But so also there is no Difference.
 “ For if God had not yet sent his Word, then he had it
 “ within himself, in and with his Reason, silently devi-
 “ sing and disposing those Things, which he was about
 “ to speak into Being by it. For devising and disposing
 “ the Word with his Reason, he made that ¹ which he
 “ handled by the Word, namely, his Reason. That you
 “ may understand this the easier by your self, know of
 “ me, that from the Image and Similitude of God, you
 “ have in your self Reason, being a rational Creature,
 “ namely, not only made by a rational Artist, but ani-
 “ mated of his Substance. Observe, when you silently
 “ meditate with your self, that this is transacted within
 “ you; your Reason occurring to you with your Word,
 “ at every Motion of Thought, and every Pulse of Sense.
 “ Whatsoever you imagine is Word, what you think is
 “ Reason. You must needs speak it in your Mind, and
 “ whilst you speak it, you have the Word talking with
 “ you; in which Word is that very Reason by which
 “ you speak with the Word, when you imagine; by
 “ which Word you imagine, when you speak. Thus
 “ there is in you after some sort, as it were, a second
 “ Word, or two Words, one by which you speak when
 “ you imagine, and another by which you imagine when
 “ you speak, the very Word is two. How much more
 “ fully is this in God, whose Image and Similitude you
 “ only are, namely, that he hath in him Reason, though
 “ silent, and in Reason speech? I may therefore with
 “ good Reason have laid this down before, namely, that
 “ God was not then before the Constitution of the Uni-
 “ verse, alone, &c.” A little after he thus proceeds con-
 cerning the Agitation of this Reason or Wisdom of God,

which I have explained a little before, and concerning the Separation of the same, as he calls it : “ As soon as it
 “ pleased God to produce into their Substances and Species those Things, which he had set in Order in himself with the Word and Reason of his Wisdom, he first
 “ brought forth his Word, having in it his inseparable
 “ Companions, Wisdom and Reason, that all Things
 “ might be made by him, by whom they were devised
 “ and disposed, yea, and made in the Mind of God.
 “ For this only was wanting in them, that they should
 “ be known openly, and apprehended in their Substances
 “ and Species. Therefore then also the Word takes upon
 “ him his Species, his Station, or Office of adorning all
 “ Things, the Sound, and Voice, when God says, *Let*
 “ *there be Light*. This is the perfect Nativity of the Son,
 “ as proceeding from God, &c.”

6. There are many Things to be observed in these Words of *Tertullian*. (1.) He teaches that God in that Disposition (as he loves to speak) in which he was before he made the World till the Generation of the Son, that (of which he treats afterwards) was only in this Sense alone, *as there was nothing but himself extrinsic of him*, i. e. there was yet no created Being. For otherwise he affirms, that God was not then alone ; for he had with him, but within him another, with whom he conversed, namely, one, who is called his Reason, and in *Greek* his *Logos*. (2.) Hence it clearly follows, that, when *Tertullian* says that God had his Reason, or his *Logos* with him, and in him from Eternity, he did not mean that *Logos* or Reason, by which the Father is said to be Rational, or that very Reason, which is formally in God, as he is the eternal Mind, that is, the very Mind of the Father ; which, nevertheless, *Petavius* would have to be meant in all such like Sayings of the Antients. For how frivolous, how foolish, how impertinent an Argument is this : God was not alone before the making of the World, because he was then Rational ? Therefore *Tertullian*, like those Fathers, whose Opinion I have explained before, did plainly mean that *Logos*, which existed eternally in and with God the Father

ther, by its rational Power, and therefore was the very rational Power of the Father. This he himself clearly signifies in these Words: *For God was Rational, and Reason was in him first*; which are exactly parallel to those of *Athenagoras* concerning God the Father before the World was made: He had the Reason in himself, being Eternally reasonable. Both their Sayings must be manifestly tautologous, if not interpreted thus: God before the Creation of the World, and of consequence eternally, had a rational Power; therefore the *Logos* or Reason was eternally in and with him, as necessarily proceeding from that rational Power of God's. Hither also may be referred what follows a little after in *Tertullian*; *Which Reason is his Thought or Sense*. For *Sensus* there, is in Greek, *ἔννοια*, which is distinguish'd from the Mind it self. So afterwards in that Comparison of Man with God, he says: *Whatever you think is Reason*. Now here, as we shall see anon, he understands Thought subsisting, or in Person. (3.) *Tertullian* observes, that the *Logos*, the Name of the Son of God, signifies both Reason and Word, and that both Significations agree to the Son of God; who is the Reason of God, as being eternally sprung from and begotten of the rational Power of God; and the Word of God, as being sometime brought forth by him in Voice to create all Things: And he grants that in the former Sense it is truly said, that the *Logos* was in the beginning with God, but not so in the latter Sense. And while he is observing these Things, he confesses: *It is usual with us (Christians) by a Simplicity of Interpretation to say that the Word was in the beginning with God*. Therefore then in *Tertullian's* time the generality of Christians did plainly say, and believe, that the Word did eternally exist with God. I wish the great Man had not in this particular been wise above the Generality, had contented himself with that Simplicity of Interpretation! However, in the main he agrees with those, than whom he affected to be wiser, and so all is safe still. For, (4.) Though he thus distinguishes betwixt Reason and Word, as to make Reason prior, and determine that God was not Verbal from

from the beginning, but Rational; yet he immediately corrects himself, as it were, and almost owns the Distinction to be a vain subtilty, and a mere Contention about Words; for he says there is no difference, whether a Man says that the Word, or the Reason was in the beginning with God. Now he gives this Reason for saying so, because indeed the Word, namely, the interior, was with God in the beginning, though then only sent by God, when he came out from him to create the Universe. Therefore that Generation, which immediately preceded the making of the World, which *Tertullian* attributes to the Word, or Son of God, was not the Production of him not before Existent, but only the sending him forth from God to make the Creatures.

7. (5.) *Tertullian* expressly saith, that the Word consisted of Reason, and that Reason was the Substance of the Word; namely, that Reason, which, as I said, was eternally Begotten of the rational Power of God. Now we will very plainly shew, that *Tertullian*, by the Substance of the Word, understood his Person or Subsistence. The Word of God then was a Substance or Subsistence eternally subsisting in God. But you'll say, how then saith *Tertullian*, that Reason, as the Substance of the Word, was prior to it? Was the Word a Person, before the Word was? No doubt of it, according to *Tertullian*; this is his very meaning. The Word was in his own Substance or Subsistence, before he was made the Word, i. e. before he proceeded from God in Voice and Sound to make this Universe.

(6.) *Tertullian* does no less clearly teach, that the Word existed with the Father as a distinct Person from him, even before that Mission or Procession of his from God the Father. This follows from our first and second Observation. For when he proves by this Medium, that God the Father was not alone before the Creation, because he then had the Word with him, he manifestly signifies that that Word was then another Person from the Father, though not another Thing or Substance from God the Father, whose Word he was. For he only can properly be said not to be alone, who hath another with him. And

if

if through all that Eternity, which preceded the Creation, God was one Person, there was not in the Divine Essence one and another, then indeed God must be said to have been alone, and that not only extrinsically, because there was no other without him, which *Tertullian* grants; but also intrinsically, because there was no other within him, which the same *Tertullian* expressly denies. But we need not Consequences. For a little after *Tertullian* expressly teaches, that the Word before the Creation, and even before his Mission, was different from God the Father, whose Word he was. This he explains by a Similitude taken from Man, the Image of God: Who, while he thinks, before he produces or utters his Word, hath it in his Mind, as it were, talking with him, so that this Word seems after some sort different from the Man, and a second Person. *There is, says he, a sort of a second Word in thee, by which thou speakest when thou thinkest, and thinkest when thou speakest, the very Word is another from thee.* Now he immediately subjoins: *How much more fully is this in God, whose Image only and Similitude thou art?* That is, that is really found in God, of which there is only a feint Shadow in thee. The interior Word of Man is, as it were, different from the Man himself: But the Word of God is really and absolutely different from God the Father, whose Word it is. What he hath hitherto discoursed concerning the Word of God, that all those Things belong to him, as he existed eternally in God before the World was made, he plainly declares in the following Words: *I may therefore, says he, not without Reason have said before, that God was not even then alone before the Creation.* By these Words he signifies, that all those Things before said by him had this view, to shew that God was not alone in that State, if we may so speak, which was precedent to the Procession of the Word from him to create all Things; because he had with him from Eternity that very Word, which existed in him, with whom he did, as it were, converse and discourse.

8. (7.) *Tertullian* plainly signifies, that the Word, which existed from Eternity under the Name of Reason with God, and the Word which was sent forth or proceeded from God, when he pleased, to create the Universe, was in Person or Subsistence one and the same Word of God ; which Supposition, as I have often before hinted, strikes at the very root of *Arianism*. For he says, as I have observed a little before, that the Word consisted of Reason, namely, of that Reason, which flowed from the rational Power of God eternally, or from the Divine Mind ; and that that very Reason is the Substance of the Word, namely, of that Word, which sometime proceeded vocally from God to make the World. Now I again undertake to shew in its proper place, that *Tertullian* by the Substance of the Word (which he also calls the Body) signified the Person or Subsistence of the Word. That *Tertullian* says the Word and Reason of God are the same Person, is very plain from these Words : ‘ “ The Son in his own Person
 “ professes the Father, (under the Name, or in the Person
 “ of Wisdom) : *The Lord made me the beginning of his*
 “ *Ways for his Works, he begat me before all the Hills.* For
 “ if here indeed Wisdom seems to say, she was made by
 “ the Lord for his Works, and his Ways, it is else-
 “ where shewn that all Things were made by the Word,
 “ and *nothing was made without him* ; as also again, *The*
 “ *Heavens were made by his Word, and all the Hosts of them*
 “ *by his Spirit*, namely, by the Spirit which was in the
 “ Word. It appears, that the Word in this place, and
 “ Wisdom in that, are of the same Import, namely, de-
 “ note the Being, which received the beginning of his
 “ Ways for the Works of God, confirmed the Heaven,
 “ made all Things, and without whom nothing was made.
 “ Nor shall we dwell longer upon this, as though he was
 “ not spoke of under the name Wisdom and Reason, and
 “ every Name of the Divine Mind and Spirit.” Here,
 I say, he clearly teaches, in these places of Scripture, where

mention is made of Wisdom and Reason and Word, (for by λόγ^ο he had said before that Reason and Word were signified in the Evangelist St. *John*), that the Son of God is spoken of, and that the same Divine Mind and Spirit of God is denoted by all these Names. Parallel to this you read: *'The Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God; the Word of Reason, and the Reason of the Word and Spirit, both of them are Jesus Christ our Lord.* Here the Words [*the Word of Reason, and the Reason and Spirit of the Word*] signify, that the Word is the Operation of the Reason and Spirit, and that the Reason and Spirit are the very Substance and Person of the Word, as we shall see hereafter. He expressly affirms, that the same Person, our Lord, is denoted by both the Titles, the Reason and Spirit of God, and the Word of God. See what we have said before of the Spirit of God used by the Antients for the Deity, or the very Divine Person of the Son of God, *Sect. 1. ch. 2. n. 5.*

c. In all these Things then *Tertullian* hath discoursed Catholicly and Orthodoxly; but yet in the Paragraph before cited, and in some others of his Book against *Praxeas*, he hath scattered something seemingly repugnant to our Observations, of which we shall now treat. First then he expressly says, that *the Wisdom of God, the second Person*, then was made, when he began to be agitated in God, and afterwards proceeded vocally from God to make all Things. I answer; The Word is said by *Tertullian* to be made the second from the Father by Procession, not as though he did not subsist before, yea, from Eternity, a distinct Person from the Father in the Divine Essence, (for all we have said hitherto is against this Comment), but as from that Procession, his distinct Personality, if I may so speak, was manifested. The very learned ² *Andrew Rivet* hath spoken right in his Note upon that place in *Genesis*, *God said, Let there be Light.* "As, saith he, the visible Mission of the Son in time argues a Mission by Genera-

¹ De Oratione in initio.

² Exercit. 3. in Genesin.

" tion from Eternity ; so the speaking of him in time,
 " that is, the Manifestation of him by effect, argues, that
 " the Word was begotten from Eternity. That Speaking
 " therefore in time is not the begetting the Son, but the
 " producing the Things which were not by the Son be-
 " gotten of the Father from Eternity, according to the
 " Declaration of Scripture, which attributes the Producti-
 " on of all Things which were made to the uncreated
 " Wisdom and eternal Word, *Prov. viii. 22, 23. Joh. i.*
 " *1.* in which places the Eternity of that Word is assert-
 " ed. Therefore the Son of God from Eternity was the
 " Word, not that God spoke by him from Eternity,
 " but that he was always disposed so, that the Father
 " might speak by him, and order what he pleased to have
 " done." Thus *Tertullian* explains himself in another
 place of this Book : " But, says he, how is it written
 " of the first Works of the World ? At the first indeed,
 " the Son not yet appearing, God said, *Let there be Light*,
 " and it was made ; the true Light, the Word, which
 " lighteth every one that cometh into this World, imme-
 " diately ; and then by him the worldly Light also.
 " Now from that time God willed the making [*every*
 " *Thing*], and God made it, Christ in the Word assist-
 " ing and administering." Where (observe) he does not
 say, the Son *not yet existing*, but *not yet appearing*. Now,
 when he says in the same place, *That the Word was then*
made, when God said, *Let there be Light*, understand it,
 as he was the Word, and according to *Tertullian's* Notion,
 as he then proceeded vocally from the Father. For un-
 less you thus interpret, you'll make him not only absurd,
 but contradictory. For God did not say, *Let there be*
Light, before he had made the rude and indigested Mass.
 First of all he made Matter. Then he said, *Let there be*
Light. If therefore the Word was then only really made,
 that is, then began to exist in his Substance and Hyposta-
 sis, or Person, when God said, *Let there be Light*, he was

younger then, and posterior to the first Matter: Which *Tertullian* has every where, and indeed in this very Book against *Hermogenes*, stiffly denied. In so plain a Case, it is needless to alledge the places. But you'll say, how does *Tertullian* affirm that the Son of God did then only appear, when God said, *Let there be Light*. I answer; though it is very difficult clearly to explain all the Passages of this dark Writer, yet we have a mind to propound our Conjecture to the Reader. The Son of God, as the eternal Reason and Wisdom of God, then first began to appear, when he begun to dispose, set in order, and adorn the rude and confused Mass of Matter. The Wisdom of God had not yet appeared out of that miscellaneous Heap, the Chaos; which afterwards shone forth clearly in the first-born Light, (as a certain Image of the Son of God, the Splendor of the eternal Light), enlightning Matter, and then in all the several Things which were clothed with that glorious Garment. So *Rivet* interprets the place. For to the Question, why *Moses* then first brings God in speaking, when he treats of Light, whereas the eternal Word operated with the Father in creating Matter, he answers: *That Moses then mentioned the Word, because his Wisdom was most conspicuous in the Distinction of Creatures*. Hence some of the Antients, as we have before shewed, properly ascribed the Creation of Matter out of nothing to the Father, and the Decoration of it to the Son; confessing still, that the Father made the first Matter by the Son, and the Son disposed and adorned it with the Father. Hence also the Procession of the Son, for which he is called the First-born, is by *Athenagoras* made posterior to the Production of Matter, because the Word is said to proceed from God to adorn it. Yet the same *Athenagoras* saith, that Matter was made by God, and all Things made by the *Logos*. But, however these Things be, it is certain *Tertullian* thought, that the Word subsisted in the Divine Essence, as a distinct Per-

son from the Father, even before his Proceſſion from the Father to make the Creatures, and conſequently from Eternity. This, I ſay, is manifeſt not only from the Obſervations before made, but alſo from the moſt expreſs Teſtimony of *Tertullian* himſelf: ¹ “ That, ſays he, is more “ which you will find in ſo many Words in the Goſpel: “ *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with “ God, and the Word was God.* One who was, and another with whom he was.” It is very certain *Tertullian* underſtood theſe Words *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God*, as he ought, namely, of that State of the Word, in which he was before the Proceſſion from God, and conſequently from Eternity. Thus we have heard *Tertullian* explain himſelf before. But, if it is poſſible, he yet more clearly opens his Sentiment upon this place in theſe Words: ² “ The Word therefore was both “ always in the Father, as he ſays *I am in the Father*, “ &c. and always with the Father, as it is written, *And “ the Word was with God.*” From comparing theſe two places, it appears, that *Tertullian* believed the Word, as always with the Father, to be diſtinct from the Father. *The Word*, ſays he, *was always with God*; but, ſays the ſame Perſon, *One who was, and another with whom he was*. Now, I ſay, one and another make two; whence, according to *Tertullian*, it follows, that the Word was always and from Eternity ſecond from the Father. Juſt after the ſame manner *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity among *Tertullian*’s Works, and without doubt an Imitator of him, is to be expounded. ³ He plainly teaches, that the Word was always ſo in the Father, that the Father was always Father, and holds the contrary Aſſertion to be a great Abſurdity. Hence it neceſſarily follows, that the Son is always Son; for the one Relation ſuppoſed, the other is alſo ſuppoſed. Now it is certain the Father and Son are two Perſons. But yet the ſame Perſon a little after in the ſame Chapter, ſpeaking of

¹ p. 507.² p. 504.³ p. 729.

the Procession of the Son to make all Things, adds, [namely, *God proceeding from God, making a second Person*]. After what I have discoursed upon *Tertullian*, there is no need of a subtle Interpreter for the right understanding these Words of *Novatian*. This by the way : I proceed to explain *Tertullian's* other Paradoxes.

10. It seems wrong in *Tertullian* to make the Procession of the Word a Separation from the Father. For after he has treated of the Agitation of the Wisdom within God, of which before, applying to him the Words of Wisdom in *Solomon*, *The Lord created me the beginning of his Ways for his Works* ; he subjoins these Words : *And from this time know that he [the Wisdom] ' departed being really separate : When he made the Heaven, says he, I was there with him. ' Tertullian* seems to have conceived such a Secretion or Separation of the Son formerly included in him from the Father, as of a *Fœtus* from the Mother's Womb. But this is his way. He is discoursing with *Praxeas*, who denied the Son to be distinct from the Father ; against whom that he may prove a Distinction of Persons, he seems to introduce a Separation of them. But did *Tertullian* believe that the Son was ever really separated from the Father ? No. In many places of this Book he teaches the contrary. To omit others, discoursing against the *Valentinians*, he says, ² *The Son is always in the Father, and never separate from the Father*. And a little after in the same place : *This will be the true Prolation, to say the Son was born of the Father, not separated [from him]*. In a Word, the Son of God according to *Tertullian*, eternally was in his own Substance and Person, is, and will be in God his Father ; yet he, when the Father pleased, went out of him, as it were, (which going out *Tertullian* has imagined to be, as it were, a certain Separation), by Operation, exerted an Almighty Force and Power, externally, as the School speaks, in the Creation. So *Tertullian*

¹ Lege Absistentem.

² p. 504.

elsewhere explains himself, where he says, that that Spirit of God, which is Eternally in God, is the Substance of the Word ; but that the Word, namely, as the Word, is only the Operation of that Spirit : A place, which we shall more commodiously cite hereafter.

II. But, you'll say, what shall we do with those Words of *Tertullian*, in which he expressly teaches, that the Word then *took his Appearance*, or Office of adorning, and *Figure*, when he proceeded from God to make the Creatures. I answer ; That *Tertullian* has there indeed spoke absurdly enough, but yet, if his meaning be attended to, without Suspicion of Heresy. For he immediately declares, that by Appearance and Figure, he meant nothing else but Sound and Voice. *Therefore then*, says he, *even the Word takes his Appearance and Figure, Sound and Voice*, when God says, *Let there be Light*. An egregious Appearance and Figure indeed ! But thus this great Man thought fit to play and trifle in the greatest Affair. In the mean time he says not, as of created Beings, that the Word took his Substance, because he did not think that the Substance or Person of the Son of God, but only his Operation was denoted by the name *Word* ; as shall be shewn hereafter. Nor could *Tertullian* believe, as we have noted before, that the Son of God then took his Substance and Person, when God said, *Let there be Light* ; for God did not say, *Let there be Light*, before he had created the first Matter, and it is the very well known Opinion of *Tertullian*, that the Person of the Son of God is more antient than the first Matter, and that even the first Matter was made by him. In like manner understand him, when he calls his Procession *his perfect Nativity*, namely, as he is the Word. He was the perfect Spirit of God, and the perfect Reason of God from Eternity ; but then only was he made the perfect Word of God, when, as *Tertullian* thought, he proceeded in Voice and Sound from the Father to make all Things. Could there indeed be any Addition of true intrinsic Perfection to the eternal Reason of God ? No sure. For, as *Tertul-*

lian says, ¹ *What is wiser than the Reason of God? I would also say, What can be more perfect than eternal Reason?*

12. As for those Words of *Tertullian* [*By proceeding from whom he was made a Son*], they are to be expounded after the same manner, as I have a little before explained his Words upon the distinct Personality of the Son. Namely, that Procession of the *Logos* from God the Father, with the word *Fiat*, to make the Creatures, was the Manifestation of his eternal Sonship and Procession from the Divine Mind. As he was the eternal Reason of God, he was of God, and the co-eternal Off-spring of his eternal Mind, and since by this Procession out of the Divine Mind, as *Tertullian* confesses, he had his Substance; it follows, that that eternal Procession was properly called his Generation or Production, but the other Procession, only, as I said before, a Manifestation of the former. We don't produce here far fetcht and strained Interpretations of *Tertullian*, but his own genuine Sense. For that is *Tertullian's* own Axiom, which we have elsewhere cited: *Every Original is a Parent, and every Thing that proceeds from an Original is a Son.* Now it is certain, according to *Tertullian*, that the Word, as it is the eternal Reason of God, had its Original according to its Substance, from God; it was therefore, as the Reason of God, the Off-spring of God, as God was the Parent. Hence the same *Tertullian* ² saith, that the Word was *God of God*, as he was in the beginning, which *Tertullian* elsewhere interprets [*always*] with God. *The Word of Life*, says he, *was made Flesh, who before was the Word only. In the beginning with God the Father, not, the Father with the Word. For though the Word was God, yet was he in God, because God of God, because with the Father, in the Father.* Where also he thence concludes, that he was God of God, as he always was with God, because the Word is said by *John* to have been with God the Father, not the Father with the Word.

¹ p. 502.

² p. 509.

And he argues very well ; for those Words [*and the Word was with God*] plainly shew, that the Word always subsisted with God, and in God the Father, as his Principle and Author. ¹ Again, he thus discourses upon the same Words of *John* : “ For if these Words cannot be taken “ otherwise, than as they are written, without doubt one “ is signified, who was from the beginning, another with “ whom he was, one the Word of God, the other God ; “ though the Word also is God, not as the Father, but “ as the Son of God.” Here he shews that it is manifestly said by *John*, that the Word of God was in the beginning with God, and God, as he is distinguish’d from the Father as the Son. But *Tertullian* himself, as we have shewn before, hath plainly confessed, that those Words of *John*, [*The Word was with God, and the Word was God*], are to be understood of that State of the Word, in which he was from Eternity till his Procession from the Father to make all Things. Hence in the same Chapter a little after he expressly says, *That the Word was always the Son of God, surely, says he, the Son of God always, not he, whose Son he was.*

13. To make all these Things the clearer, it is very diligently to be observed, that *Tertullian* considered two Things in the Son, or Word of God, namely, his Substance or Person, which he also calls his Body, and something which is accidental to him. He makes the Substance or Person of the Word, or Son of God, to be the *Reason of God, or the Spirit of God* ; and he thinks that external Utterance or Prolation, by which he came forth with Voice and Sound to adorn all Things, and for which he is most properly called the Word of God, is as a certain Accident. Now he freely confesses, that the Substance and Person of the Word, as he is the Reason of God, and his Spirit, is Eternal ; although he affirms that he was made the Word of God from some beginning. ² His Words are clear, when having cited the place of Scripture,

¹ p. 511.

² p. 504.

For who knows what Things are in God, but the Spirit which is in God? He immediately adds: "The Word is made by the Spirit, and, if I may so say, the Spirit is the Body of the Word. The Word therefore is both always in the Father, as he saith, *I am in the Father*; and always with God, as it is written, *The Word was with God*." Here from these two Hypotheses, namely, that the Spirit is the Body of the Word, which Spirit is in God, and that that Spirit of God was always and eternally in God, (which latter Hypothesis he manifestly understands, though he doth not express it), he infers that the Word was always with God, and that against the *Valentinians*, as we shall see hereafter, who denied the Eternity of the Word. He elsewhere ¹ calls the Spirit of God, here according to him the *Body of the Word*, the *Substance of the Word*: "We affirm the Spirit to be the proper Substance of the Word, and Reason, and Power, by which we have said that God made all Things." Now that *Tertullian* understood by the Body and Substance of the Word, the very Subsistence or Person of the Word, is very evident from his express Words a little before the place cited: ² "For who, says he, will deny that God is Body, though he be Spirit? For Spirit is Body in its Kind and Figure. But those invisible Things also, whatsoever they are, have also their Body and Form with God, by which they are visible to God alone. How much less then shall that be without Substance, which is sent forth from the Substance of God? Whatsoever therefore was the Substance of the Word, that I call Person, and challenge for it the Title of Son; and whilst I own the Son, I maintain him to be the second from the Father." Here, by Body, *Tertullian* understands a solid Substance subsisting by it self, distinct from those Accidents, which are fleeting, transitory and successive, as *Petavius* himself hath rightly observed. So *Tertullian* does not allow any Thing to be incorporeal, be-

¹ F. 19.² P. 504.

cause the Substance is the Body of every Thing. From hence you may surely know in what Sense *Tertullian* called the Reason of God, which was always with God, as being eternally begotten of the Divine Mind, the Substance of the Word. Namely, by the Substance of the Word, (as he interprets himself), he altogether meant the Subsistence of the Person of the Word. Therefore that is plainly false, which ¹ *Petavius* confidently affirms, namely, that *Tertullian* thought, *That God brought forth from himself, and, as it were, embodied the Word, that is, gave him a proper Substance and Person, when he made all created Things of nothing, and used the Word for that Work.* I wonder what Spectacles the *Jesuit* used in reading this Author. For indeed *Tertullian* teaches the direct contrary, that is, that the Body, Substance, and Person of the Word was the eternal Reason, the eternal Spirit of God, to which at a certain time the name *Word* was added, namely, then, when that Divine Person proceeded vocally from God to make the Universe.

14. Moreover, as in the place cited, *Tertullian* asserts, that the Spirit of God, which is the Body and Person of the Word, was eternally with God; so he very plainly teaches in another place, That that Spirit of God is a distinct Person from God, whose Spirit it is, and that as the Spirit of God. There he puts us in mind, that the one and the same Person of the Son may be considered in two Respects; *i. e.* as he is the Spirit of God, or a Divine Person having his Original eternally from God, who is a Spirit, and subsisting in God; and as he is the Word. He says plainly that the Word is nothing else but the Operation of that Spirit, and the Spirit the Substance and Person of the Word. For expounding that place of *St. Luke*, where mention is made of the Spirit coming down upon the Blessed Virgin, of the Son of God, (as *Justin* and other Antients before him had done), he writes thus: “² This Spirit of God must be the same as the Word.

¹ De Trin. lib. 1. c. 5. n. 3.

² p. 515.

“ For

" For as, when *John* says, *the Word was made Flesh*, under the name *Word* we understand Spirit, so here we acknowledge the Word under the name *Spirit*. For the Spirit is the Substance of the Word, and the Word is the Operation of the Spirit, and these two are one." Here, when he says, the Spirit is the Substance of the Word, and the Word the Operation of the Spirit, and both one ; it is plain from what has been said before, that the Word is nothing else but the eternal Spirit of God, as proceeding from God with Sound and Voice to make the primigenial Light, and the other mundane Works, *i. e.* that the same Person is understood under the name *Spirit*, and the name *Word*, with this only Difference, that he is called the Spirit of God, as he is a Divine Person eternally subsisting in God, and of God, who is a Spirit ; but the Word, as he is a Spirit operating, or as he came forth from God, when he pleased with Sound and Voice (according to *Tertullian*) to make this World. A little after the Words alledged he affirms expressly, that the Word of God, as he is the Spirit of God, is a Person distinct from God, whose Spirit he is : " As the Word of God therefore, is not the very Person, whose he is ; so neither is the Spirit, though called God, the very Person, whose he is said to be. Nothing of any Person's, is that, whose it is. Plainly, when any Thing is from him, and so his, whilst from him, it may be some such Thing, as he is, from whom it is, and whose it is. And therefore the Spirit is God, and the Word is God ; but not that very Person from whom it is. Because God is, as it were, the Substance or *Substratum* of God, he can't be that same Person God ; but thus far God, as he is of the Substance of that God, who is the *Substratum*, and as a certain Portion of the whole." Here, I say, *Tertullian* clearly teaches, that the Spirit of God is the Substance [*of the Word*], nay, that the Spirit of God, although such, as God the Father, whose Spirit he is, *i. e.* of the same Substance with him, is yet in Person distinct from the Father, Now a Distinction is

to

to be observed in these Words: *As therefore the Word of God, is not the Person, whose it is, so neither the Spirit.* For this is as much as if *Tertullian* had said: He who is called the Son of God, is different from God the Father, not only as he is the Word, but as he is the Spirit of God, which he was before he was made Flesh, yea, from Eternity. We have before explained in what Sense *Tertullian* called the Son of God, the Spirit and Word, a part of the whole, namely, of the Divine Essence. Now let the Reader diligently attend to what *Tertullian* has discoursed concerning the two-fold Consideration of the Son of God, as he is the Spirit and Reason of God, and as he is the Word of God, if ever he desires clearly to understand the true Sense and Meaning of that obscure Doctor. For from this Distinction carefully observed, he will easily perceive the Sense of many Sayings in *Tertullian*, which will otherwise certainly gravel him.

15. To speak out the whole Matter, *Tertullian* has here in some sort used the Terms of the *Valentinians*, and the other *Gnostics*, though his Sentiment is really Catholic. Let not the Reader believe me, but *Tertullian*,¹ who rejects the Dreams of the *Valentinians* concerning the Word, and asserts the orthodox Doctrine in these express Words: “ If any one shall think by this, that I introduce some
“ Projection, or Bringing forth of one Thing out of ano-
“ ther, as *Valentinus* did, producing out of his *Æon* one
“ *Æon* after another; first I must say, May not Truth
“ therefore use that Word, that Thing, and Order, be-
“ cause Heresy uses it? Nay, rather Heresy borrowed it
“ from the Truth to bolster up her own Lie. The Word
“ of God was brought forth, was it not? Stop here then,
“ as I do. If he was brought forth, understand the Pro-
“ jection, the bringing forth of Truth, and let Heresy
“ look to it, in what she has ap’d, the Truth. But
“ now it is askt how we use this Something, and the
“ Word expressing it: *Valentinus* divides and separates his

“ Projections or Births from their Author, yea, places
 “ them at such a Distance from him, that the *Æon* knows
 “ not the Father, lastly, desires to know him, but can-
 “ not ; nay, is almost absorbed and dissolved into ano-
 “ ther Substance. With us the Son alone knows the Fa-
 “ ther, and himself laid open the Mind of the Father,
 “ hath heard and seen all Things with the Father, and
 “ speaks those Things, which he is commanded by the
 “ Father. He hath not done his own, but his Father’s
 “ Will, which he knew immediately, yea, from the Be-
 “ ginning : For who knows the Things of God, but the
 “ Spirit of God, which is in him. Now the Word was
 “ formed by the Spirit, and if I may so speak, the Spirit
 “ is the Body of the Word. The Word therefore is
 “ both always in the Father, as he saith, *I am in the Fa-*
 “ *ther* ; and always with God, as it is written, *And the*
 “ *Word was with God*. And never separate, or another
 “ from the Father, *For I and the Father are one.*” The
 cautious Man thought that what he had discoursed before
 of the Vocal bringing forth of the Word, was not the
 common Sentiment of Catholics, nay, as is said before,
 he hath almost confessed so much in the same place. He
 foresaw there would be some who would reject that Dis-
 putation of his as Heterodox, and not far from the Fables
 of the *Valentinians* ; and therefore he makes this Defence.
 And indeed no one Thing seems more like another, than
 that saying of *Tertullian*, *God was not Verbal from the Be-*
ginning, to that Revery of *Valentinus*, who asserts that *Sige*,
 or Silence was in the beginning with God, but afterward
 that the *Logos*, Voice or Sound of God did, as it were,
 break forth. Whence *Irenæus*, * (according to *Tertullian*
 himself), the most curious Examiner of all Doctrines, ab-
 solutely rejects it as a mere Fable of *Valentinus*, that the
 bringing forth of the Word of God is like the bringing
 forth of the Word of Man by the Tongue. But yet the
 Error of the *Valentinians* concerning this vocal and sound-

* Iren. lib. 2. c. 43. p. 205.

ing Prolation, or bringing forth the Word of God, had such an Appearance of Truth, from the Propriety of the word *Logos* given to the Son in the Scripture, and from that favourable Passage of *Genesis, ch. i. v. 3.* that we are not to admire, if some easily allowed it to the *Valentinians*, and even embraced it themselves, who at the same time would not so easily suffer themselves to be led out of the Path of the Catholic Tradition, concerning the main of the Doctrine of the Son of God. Of this Number I reckon *Tertullian* to be one.

16. For in the place cited he publicly professes, that in the main he utterly abhorred the *Valentinian* Fictions. To shew this, he explains their Notion, and opposes his own to it. The *Valentinians* placed at a great distance and separated most of their *Æons*, and especially the Word, from the supreme Father, both in Nature, Knowledge, and Time. (1.) In Nature. For of all the *Æons* begotten by *Bythus* Depth, and *Sige* Silence, they only allowed *Nun* or Mind to be perfect. They said (according to *Irenæus*), ' that *Sige*, or Silence, having conceived, brought forth *Nun* or Mind, *alike and equal to the Parent, and alone containing the Greatness of the Father.* As for the *Logos*, or Word, whom they placed after the *Nûs*, and as *Irenæus* speaks, in the third Rank of Generation, they expressly affirmed that he was an imperfect, nay, a blind *Æon*. This the same *Irenæus* witnesseth: ¹ " So greatly erring from right Reason concerning the Truth, as to say that the Word, which was sent forth from the Mind of the supreme Father was degraded in his Emission; for that *Nûs* or Mind being perfect, begotten of the perfect *Bythus*, or Depth, could not now make the Emission from her perfect, but blind concerning the Knowledge and Greatness of the Father, and that our Saviour had given us a Symbol of this Mystery in him who was born Blind." And a little after: " How, ye vain Sophists! did the Mind of the Father, yea, the Father, for he is Mind

¹ Lib. 1, c. 1, p. 10.

² Lib. 2, c. 24, p. 179.

" and

“ and Perfect in all Things, send forth his Word an im-
 “ perfect and blind Æon, when he could immediately
 “ with him send forth the Knowledge of the Father?”

(2.) The *Valentinians* did consequently assert that most of their Æons differ'd from the supreme Father in Knowledge. They taught that every Æon only knew his immediate Father, and therefore that *Nûm* or Mind could only know the supreme Father, as being only immediately begotten of him. Thus *Ireneus*: “ They say every one
 “ of the Æons are sent forth, and only know him, who
 “ sent them forth, not knowing the Æon before him.” What they have particularly spoken of the Ignorance of the Word, I have shewn already. (3.) Lastly, The *Valentinians* made most of the Æons different in time from the supreme Father. The first Pair, *Bythus* and *Sige*, they made Eternal. They said *Nûs* or *Monogenes*, the Father of their *Logos*, had a beginning, in this following their Progenitors the *Nicolaitans* and *Cerinthians*, as we have shewed before from *Ireneus*. Now *Tertullian*, with *Ireneus* and all Catholics, plainly rejects all these Things as Heretical, and shews under several Heads, that his Doctrine of the bringing forth of the Son is contrary to the *Valentinian* Fictions. For, says he, we assert, (1.) That the Word or Son of God is not different from, but one with the Father in Nature and Substance. (2.) That, as to his Knowledge, he is in the Bosom of his Father, and therefore only immediately knew him, and discovered his Mind; (3.) That, as to his Age, he was always personally subsisting with God the Father; for the Body, Substance and Person of the Word is that Spirit of God, which eternally subsists in and from God, which sometime proceeded from God with the word *Fiat*, to make the Creatures, and was therefore called the Word of God. The *Valentinians* said that the Word was so brought forth in Voice and Sound, that it was not a Person at all (if it ever was one) before it was brought forth. On the other

hand *Tertullian* teaches, that the Word had his own Body, his own Substance and Person, and that Eternal, namely, that Spirit of God, which is, and always was in God. Who is there that does not of himself observe that these Propositions of *Tertullian* are like so many Oppositions to the Blasphemies of *Arius*, as well as *Valentinus*? For these three Points; (1.) That the Word or Son of God is of a different Nature and Substance from the Father, (2.) And therefore can't perfectly know the Father; (3.) *Lastly*, That he did not always exist and subsist with the Father; these, I say, are the chief Heads of the *Arian* Heresy, all which *Tertullian* with the Catholic Church hath expressly condemned in the *Valentinians*. Let not the *Arians* therefore hereafter boast of their Advocate *Tertullian*.

17. I will conclude this long, but necessary Disquisition concerning the Faith and Opinion of *Tertullian*, by adding two other Testimonies to those very clear ones produced before. One of them is in the same Book against *Praxeas*: "Moreover it is necessary to believe God Im-
 " mutable and Inconvertible, as being Eternal. But a
 " Transfiguration is the Destruction of what was before.
 " For every Thing that is transfigured into another, ceases
 " to be what it was, and begins to be what it was not;
 " but God neither ceases to be, nor can be any Thing
 " else. Now the Word is God." *Tertullian* expressly teaches, that the Word of God, as it is God, is immutable and eternal, never ceased to be what it was, nor began to be what it was not. Now if the Son of God from his Prerogative (to use *Tertullian's* Expression) of Immutability and Eternity, as he is God, never could begin to be what he was not, much less can he simply begin to be, who before never was. Besides, if any one should endeavour to elude the Force of this Testimony, by saying that such an Eternity is here understood, as has no End, but had a Beginning, he may easily be refuted from this Place. *Tertullian* expressly speaks of such an Eternity, as is a ne-

cessary Attribute of the Divine Nature, as such; or necessarily to be attributed to God, as God: And he attributes this Eternity to the Word, because God. *It is necessary, says he, to believe God Immutable, as being Eternal.— Now the Word is God.* But the Eternity of God is an Eternity every way, an absolute one, such as *Tertullian* describes: *' How can we set God lower than Eternity? What other State of Eternity, than always to have been, and always to continue, by the Privilege of neither Beginning nor End.* Lastly, *Tertullian's* Argument in the place cited manifestly depends upon this general Supposition, That all the essential Divine Attributes, all which agree to God the Father as God, without regard to the Relation of Son to Father, or Father to Son, are common to Father and Son. But all confess that to have been always, and to continue always, is an absolutely necessary Attribute of the Divine Essence, as such. And, Good God! how repugnant are all these Things to the Tenets of the *Arians*, on whose Side *Tertullian* is reported to have been by some. Further, from hence we certainly know that, when *Tertullian* said, that the eternal Reason of God, the eternal Wisdom, the eternal Spirit began to be moved in God towards the Creation, (as also he said that God the Father employed his Strength, and laboured in it), that he proceeded from God with Voice and Sound, and the like; hence, I say, it is plain, that all those Things were spoken by him in a Sense not repugnant to the eternal Immutability of the Divine Person, by those Names signified; that is, so as that the Reason, Wisdom and Spirit of God, was not to be thought either to have ceased to be what it was, or begun to be what it was not, or either got or lost, if I may so speak, any internal Perfection. In the beginning the name Word was added to the Son of God (according to *Tertullian*); nay, he was then declared the Son of God, then also the Title of Creator was added to the Father. The Son working externally caused those Things to begin to be, which

were not ; and the Father also work'd with the Son, and by him. Nothing is by this intrinsically added to, or taken from either of them ; for both are the same Eternal, and Immutable God.

19. Another Testimony we have in the poetic Books against *Marcion*. These Books, according to *Pamelius*,¹ are certainly *Tertullian's*, nor do I see any Thing of Moment, that is objected against him by others. See *Pamelius's* Argument upon the first Book. Indeed a Man of any Judgment and Knowledge in *Tertullian's* Writings, may easily himself find his Sense and Words in many places. Thus the Author speaks concerning the Son of God :² “ This God, this very Man, who spoke the “ Truth, the Principle from the Father, Light begotten “ of Light, Spirit, and Word, Power under the Image “ of the Father, was always in the Father united in “ Glory and Time.” Here, as in the Book against *Praxeas*, he expressly says, that the Spirit and Word of God was always with the Father, adding, that he was united to the Father in Glory and Time. Now this Testimony cited also by the Reverend — *Gardiner*, *Sandius*³ thus endeavours to elude in what he calls his Responfory Epistle to him : *These Words seem to have been written after the Council of Nice, because the Author says, Light begotten of Light.* Would the Sophist persuade us, that no Body before the *Nicene* Fathers said that the Son was begotten of the Father as Light of Light ? Now there is scarce any *Ante-Nicene* antient Catholic Writer, who hath not this Similitude, nor could *Sandius* be ignorant of it. But this Form of speaking is especially familiar with *Tertullian*. To omit other places, thus he speaks in his *Apologetic* :⁴ *We also ascribe to the Word, and Reason, and Power, by which we said God made all Things, the Spirit as his proper Substance.* A little after in the same place he adds : *The Spirit is so from the Spirit, and God from God, as Light is kindled by Light.*

¹ Præf. in opera *Tertullian*, Tom. 4.
pendice ad Nucl. p. 100.

² p. 638.

³ In Ap-

⁴ p. 19.

Indeed from comparing these Places you may easily find, that the same Person was the Author of the Verses and the *Apologetic*. In the *Apologetic* the Son of God is called both God and the Word, and Light, and Power, and Spirit, and all the same Names (which you'll scarce find heaped together in any other Author) concur in this place of the Verses. You read in the *Apologetic*, *Light kindled from Light*; in the Verses, *Light begotten of Light*. Thus I hope I have at length explained *Tertullian's* Opinion of the Eternity of the Son largely, and, as far as the Obscurity of the Author permitted, plainly. From all which it is manifest how rashly *Petavius* (according to Custom) pronounced, *As for the Eternity of the Word, it is plain Tertullian did not acknowledge it*. The contrary is to me manifest, and, I think, to my Reader too, after so many clear Testimonies cited by me; unless (which I don't believe) *Petavius* quibbled with the term *Word*. For *Tertullian* indeed teaches, that the Son of God was made and denominated the Word from some Beginning, namely then, when he went out from God the Father with the Word *Fiat* to set the World in Order. But I also think I have sufficiently shewn, that *Tertullian* believed that Person, which is called the Word and Son of God, to be Eternal. *

20. *Lactantius* is the only remaining Person to be consulted. Since his Opinion is of no great Value, we shall

* "Tertullian is the chief Evidence in all Ante-Nicene Antiquity, on whom the Defenders of the scholastic Notion depend for their Explication of the Trinity," Answer to the Queries, p. 98. The Defenders of the scholastic Notion must be the Orthodox, whether they are, or will be, or not. Bishop Bull was one of them, and though he found it so difficult to settle Tertullian among the Evidence for his Notion, our Author with one stroke of his Pen has done it. Petavius, Sandius, Clarke, &c. have placed him every where, but where the Bishop has. Nay, this very Man has dealt with him to speak on his side of the Question. All the Labour of the preceding Disquisition has been to excuse him from gross Herefy, Inconsistency, and Phantasy, to shew that he is not necessarily contrary to himself, or to us, though it be often difficult to find out what his real Sense is. Si quid recte curatum velis, huic Homini committas.

have the less to say upon him. He was a Rhetorician rather than a Divine, and never bore any Character among the Doctors of the Church. Nay, if we may judge of him by those Pieces of his that have come to our Hands, his late Posterity, he was very ignorant in the Holy Scriptures and Ecclesiastical Doctrine. This was the Reason of his falling into the most gross Errors, not to be excused in a Catechumen, not only in this Question, but also in other principal Heads of Religion. To give a Catalogue of them now would be too long. There is therefore no wonder, if he falsely took the metaphorical Generation of the Son, in which he proceeded, and was, as it were, born of the Father to make the Universe (concerning which it is likely he had read something in the Christian Authors) for his true Production and Procreation. Besides, I think I may say the Places cited from *Lactantius* ¹ concerning the Generation of the Son, and principally blamed by *Petavius* and other learned Men, are either adulterated by Heretics; or certainly some Heretic imposed upon *Lactantius* himself. Indeed *Xystus Betuleius* has suspected that he has not had fair Dealing in one of them, in his Notes upon that Chapter at the end. This at least is certain, that there are some Things, we now read in the Chapter, contrary to the Doctrine of the Chapter immediately following, and some other Passages we have cited, as we shall shew hereafter. It is astonishing how contradictory *Lactantius* is to himself, *Book 2, Chap. 9.* ² (if it be *Lactantius* who wrote it). Near the beginning of the Chapter you have these Words: "As
 " the Mother did in an unparallelled Manner bring forth
 " her Maker; so is the Father to be believed ineffably to
 " have begotten one Co-eternal. He was born of the
 " Mother, who was before; of the Father, who some-
 " time was not. Let Faith embrace, not Reason search it
 " out, lest puzzled in her Enquiry she think it incredi-
 " ble, or having found it out, believe it no more than

¹ *Lactant. lib. 2. c. 9. Lib. 4. c. 8.*

² p. 82.

“ ordinary.” Here *Betuleius* says, that in the *Roman* Edition, seventy Years older than his, and, as he says, very correctly publish’d, was read [*aliquando non defuit*] instead of [*aliquando non fuit*] *who never was not*, instead of, *who some time was not*. Now let any one reconcile these Words with those that follow. The Paragraph indeed is wanting in some Manuscripts. But he plays with this Mystery after much the same manner in another place, ¹ where there is no Suspicion of Interpolation: “ For he, God the Father, the Original and Principle of Things, because without Parents, is very truly called by *Trismegistus* without Father, and without Mother, because born of none. Therefore also the Son must be born twice, that he might be without Father, and without Mother. For in the first, Spiritual Nativity, he was without Mother, because begotten by God the Father alone, without the Office of a Mother; but in the second, Carnal Nativity, he was without Father, conceived in the Virgin’s Womb, without the Office of a Father.”

21. In that ninth Chapter of the second Book follows a long Disputation concerning the two Principles, one of Good, the other of Evil, which favours rankly of *Manicheism*. For he says there, “ That God in the beginning made Good and Evil; that he made the World consisting of Things contrary, and disagreeing among themselves: That he therefore before all Things, made two Principles of Things opposite and contrary to one another; namely, two Spirits, a good one, and a bad one; of which one is, as it were, on the Right-hand of God, and the other on the Left; that he made the Devil, the Inventor of Evil; and when he made him, gave him Wit and Subtlety to contrive what is Evil, that he might have in him a depraved Will and Wickedness in Perfection; that he would have every Thing contrary to his own Virtues arise in him, and would that he should contend with him, whether the one could do

“ more Good, or the other more Evil; *Lastly*, That he
 “ freely assigned to the Devil a Power over his good
 “ Things.” These, I say, are either the very Doctrines
 of *Manes*, or are strongly tinged with it. I’m sure
 the Author, whoever he was, learned not these Notions
 of any Catholic Doctor, (the Catholic Church always
 condemned them), but borrowed them from Heretics.
 And from what Heresy, I pray, except from that of the
Manichæes? These Words are indeed wanting in some
 Manuscripts; but then there are in this same place such
 Things in all Manuscripts, as come near to *Manichæism*,
 but are very remote from Catholic Doctrine. For after
 the Author had said that he would explain the Cause and
 Beginning of Evils, these Words, by the consent of all
 Copies follow: “ God, who was most prudent to con-
 “ trive, and diligent to execute, before he began this Work
 “ of the World, since the Fountain of compleat and per-
 “ fect Good was in him, as it always is, so that from
 “ this Good arose, as it were, a River, and spread it self
 “ far, produced a Spirit like himself, who was endowed
 “ with the Powers of God the Father. Then he made
 “ another, in which was nothing of the Divine Race.
 “ Therefore he was infected with Envy, as with a Poi-
 “ son, passed from good to bad, and by his own Will,
 “ which he had free from God, took to himself a contra-
 “ ry Name. For he envied his Predecessor, who was ap-
 “ proved and dear to God the Father for his Perseverance.
 “ This Spirit from good, of himself became bad, the
 “ *Greeks* call him *Διαβόλον*, we *Criminatorem*, (the Accu-
 “ ser), because he informs before God concerning those
 “ Crimes, to which he tempts us.” Then, omitting
 what we said was wanting in some Books, these Words
 are added: “ God therefore, when he began the Creati-
 “ on set that first and greatest Son of his over the whole
 “ Work.” Here he first teaches, that the Son of God,
 and that Spirit, which became Evil soon after his Creation,
 were both alike produced by God, before he began the
 Work of the Creation, though he confesses the Son to be

prior to that Spirit both in Dignity, and Time. Then he signifies and that not obscurely, that the great Angel, called the Devil was exempted out of the Order of Creatures made by the Son; that both the Son of God, and the Devil, were made by God only, neither of them by the other; that the Son indeed was prior to, but not the Creator of the Devil. Now which of the Catholic Doctors ever taught thus before him? *Lastly*, When about to explain the cause of Good and Evil, he says that that first Spirit was produced by God, the most prudent to contrive, and the most diligent to execute, with this purpose, that a River, as it were, should arise from the Fountain of good, and should spread it self far, namely, to the Creatures; and then that God made another Spirit called the Devil; he seems to me to hint that that other Spirit was made by God with a quite contrary Purpose, namely, that a River of Evils also might flow as from a Fountain from that Spirit, whom God, though he had given him free Will, knew would deviate from Good to Evil. What is this, I beseech you, but *Manicheism* in Perfection? Moreover some of these Impieties, which are wanting, as we before said in certain Manuscripts, are to be found in other places of *Lactantius* by the consent of all Copies. Thus: ¹ “When
 “ God was about to make Man, to whom he would propose
 “ Virtue for the Conduct of his Life, by which he
 “ might attain Immortality, he made Good and Evil,
 “ that so there might be Virtue.” We have a parallel
 Place to this in these Words: ² “For God would not that
 “ Man should arrive at immortal Bliss without Labour,
 “ therefore when he was about to give us Virtue, he first
 “ gave us an Adversary, to put into the Minds of Men
 “ Lust and Vice, to be the Author of Error, and the
 “ Projector of all Evil; that as God calls Men to Life,
 “ so he, on the contrary, might lead and hurry them to
 “ Death.” Again: “Because the supreme God cannot
 “ be resisted, he hath freely assign’d to the Devil a Pow-

* p. 807.

* p. 180, 181.

“er over good.” Again, the same Thing is said, namely, *that God from the beginning gave the Devil a Power over the Earth.* And a little after in the same Place the Devil is called, *That exceeding deceitful Governour of the Earth.*

22. How insipid, ridiculous, and absurd is what we read, *Chap. 8. Book 4.* ¹ “The Holy Scriptures, says he, teach, that the Son of God is the Word of God, and that the other Angels are the Spirits of God. For the Word is the Spirit or Breath brought forth in a significative Sound. But yet, since the Spirit, or Breath, and the Word are brought forth by different Parts, for the Spirit proceeds from the Nostrils, the Word from the Mouth, there is great difference between this Son of God, and the other Angels. For they went forth from God silent Spirits, who were created, and not to deliver the Doctrine of God, but to minister: But he, though he be a Spirit, proceeded with Voice and Sound out of the Mouth of God.” Here forsooth, he teaches that the Nature of the Son and other Angels is the same, that both of them are Spirits, sent forth from the Substance of God, with this difference, that the Son proceeded out of the Mouth, they out of the Nostrils of God; he with a Voice and Sound, they tacitly. Here again is *Manicheism*. For the *Manichæes* asserted, that not only Angels, but also the Souls of Men, at least of good Men flow’d from the *Substance of God.* ² But what Catholic Doctor before *Lactantius*, philosophiz’d thus? None. Nay, *Lactantius* might have learnt a better Lesson from *Tertullian*, ³ whom he had read. If, says he, *the Divine Monarchy administer’d by so many Legions, and Hosts of Angels, as it is written, an hundred thousand Myriads stood by him, and a thousand Myriads stood before him, does it not therefore cease to be of one, so as to cease to be a Monarchy, because administer’d by so many thousand Powers? How is it that God should seem to be divided in the Son and Holy Spirit, who have the second and third places [in the Di-*

¹ P. 315.

² August. de. Hæres. c. 46.

³ Tertull. p. 502.

unity]

vinity] and are so Partakers of the Father's Substance, when he is not divided in a Number of so many Angels, and those so different from the Substance of the Father? He teaches that the Son and Holy Spirit are Partakers of the Substance of God the Father, but that Angels, how great soever, are altogether different from the divine Substance. Wherefore, as I said, we must altogether determine either that those Places in the Writings of *Lactantius*, have been corrupted by some Heretic, or that *Lactantius* himself was infected with Heresy. If the former, then they are not truly attributed to him; if the latter, his Testimony is justly to be rejected.

23. In the mean time, there are some Foot-steps of the Sound and Catholic Doctrine of the Son's Eternity in *Lactantius*, where, by the Consent of all Books, both Printed and MSS. he speaks himself, namely, *Book 4. Ch. 9.* There in the very beginning of the Chapter, after he, in the End of the preceeding Chapter, had cited the Text of the Evangelist *John*, Ch. 1. v. 1. according to the vulgate Latin Version in that Age (as it is probable) proceeds thus. ¹ But the Greeks use the Word *Logos* more properly than we the Word *Verbum*, or *Sermo*. For *Logos* both signifies the Word and the Reason, because he is the Voice and Wisdom of God. Here *Lactantius* manifestly imitates the Words and Sense of *Tertullian*, with whose Writings, it is certain, he was acquainted. *Tertullian*, as we have seen, had observed the twofold Signification of *Logos*, which *Lactantius* here observes. *Tertullian* said upon that Place of *John*, where it is written, *In the Beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God*; that the Greek Word *Logos* was better render'd in Latin, the Reason than the Word; and *Lactantius* says the same. *Tertullian* confesses, That the *Logos*, as it is the Reason of God, was in the Beginning, and even from Eternity. Now, who wou'd not easily believe, that *Lactantius*, using the same Distinction, intended the same Thing? He is, says he, the Son of God, and the Word of

God, and the Reason of God, and the Voice, and Wisdom of God; and it is more properly said in that place of John, that the Reason and Wisdom of God, was in the Beginning, and with God, than that the Word, and Voice was so. For the Word and Voice was not the Son of God, before it proceeded vocally from the Father to make all Things; but the Reason and Wisdom of God was so eternally. Now these Things are contrary to those which either *Lactantius* himself, or some other Person had disputed in the preceeding Chapter. For, if the Greek Word *Logos* doth better express the Name of the Son than the Latin Words *Sermo*, or *Verbum*, because it signifies both the Word and Reason; if the Son of God be not only the Word of God, but also the Reason of God, not only the Voice, but also the Wisdom of God; and if he is rather to be defined the Reason and Wisdom of God than the Voice, or Word of God; then all the whole preceeding Dissertation falls to the Ground, in which the Son of God is described, as the mere vocal Spirit, or Breath of God, then made a Person, when uttered, or brought forth. *Lastly*, If the Son be the very Reason and Wisdom of God, then he is Eternal, otherwise the Father is not Eternal, because God the Father never was without his Reason and Wisdom; which Argumentation we have above shewn, how far it is firm and valid. Nor have I in vain said, *Otherwise the Father is not Eternal*; for *Lactantius* seems not to have spoken cautiously, if indeed piously, of the Eternity of God the Father. ¹ *He teaches*, That the Principle of the Existence of God the Father of all, cannot be comprehended by us; but that it must be determin'd, that he hath a Principle of Existence. "Whose
 " (God the Father's) Power, *says he*, cannot be estimated,
 " nor Greatness known, nor Beginning or Principle com-
 " prehended; for as much as, when the *Intention* of the Hu-
 " mane Mind, its Quickness, and Memory is come up to
 " him, as tho' its ways of acting were *consum'd*, or ex-
 " hausted, or withdrawn, it stands still, pauses, and fails,

² p. 32.

" nor

“ nor can proceed any further. But since it cannot be,
 “ but that that which is, must have sometime begun to
 “ be; it follows that, since nothing was before him, he
 “ must be begotten of himself before all Things. * Who
 now would expect a sound Judgment of the Eternity of
 the Son from him, who has wrote so foolishly of the Eter-
 nity of God the Father? It may suffice then to have said
 thus much concerning the Doctrine of *Lactantius*.

24. Thus, at length, have we diligently examined the
 Opinion of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, concerning the Co-
 Eternity of the Son; and abundantly demonstrated (if we
 are not much deceived) the several *Theses* in this Section
 propos'd. From all which it is plain, that is true which
 the Learned *Sifimius* † pronounced concerning the Doctors
 of the Church, who flourish'd before the Division in it,
 that is, before the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy; name-
 ly, *That they avoided the attributing to the Son of God any
 beginning of Existence, because they held him to be Co-eternal †
 with the Father.* I have cited more than twenty Catholic ap-
 prov'd Doctors of the Church, of the three first Ages, who,
 all of them clearly and plainly acknowledge the Son's Co-
 Eternity. I have shewn also, that the contrary Doctrine
 was condemn'd by the Synod of Bishops assembled at *Rome*,
 in the Cause of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. The other *Ante-
 Nicene* Writers, except *Lactantius*, (whose Judgment we
 have prov'd to be worth nothing) are these six, *Athenago-
 ras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Hippolitus*, *Novatian*,
 or the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity a-
 mong *Tertullian's* Works, and *Tertullian* himself. Of these,
 the five former have indeed imagined the Progression of
 the Son from the Father, to make all Things, to be a cer-
 tain Generation of him, but yet have studiously avoided
 the attributing to him a Beginning of Existence; and all of
 them have publicly profess'd, That the *Logos* was eternally
 with God the Father. Lastly, *Tertullian* went off from

* The Bishop seems here to have press'd *Lactantius* too close, and to
 require Philosophical Accuracy, where he only talks in a popular Strain.

† Socrates. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 219. † *Συράδιον*

the Church to Heresy, and is therefore more justly to be reckon'd among Heretics than Ecclesiastical Doctors. But he, notwithstanding, after many and various Windings, and very foolish Niceties, at length sat down and acquiesc'd in the common (as he calls it) that is, the Catholic Notion ; and expressly affirm'd against the *Valentinians*, the Fore-runners of *Arius*, *That the Word always was, and subsisted with God the Father*. The famous *Sisinnius*, ¹ of great Knowledge in the Scriptures, the Heathen and Ecclesiastical Writers, as *Sozomen* witnesseth, had, without doubt, seen and read many other Monuments of the Antients, such as *Quadratus*, *Aristides*, *Miltiades*, *Melito*, &c. now lost. Now he, who was so well furnish'd with the manifold Reading of the Antients, boldly asserted, what he was also ready to prove against the *Arians* ; namely, *That those Antients commonly taught, That the Son of God was Co-eternal with his Father*. So much for this : Let us now proceed to the rest, by the help of the eternal Word, and Son of God.

¹ Sozom. Lib. 7. c. 12. p. 583.

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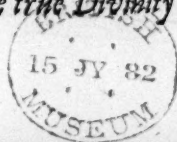
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